THE SECRET PLOT AGAINST AMERICA

A Series by JOHN L. SPIVAK

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NEW MASSES

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COUGHLIN RECRUITS BRIGADE AMONG THE SOLDIERS

Also in This Issue: New York's Fateful Primary, by The Editors; The Communists and The Negroes, A Symposium; Our Allies Look at the AFL, Martin T. Brown.

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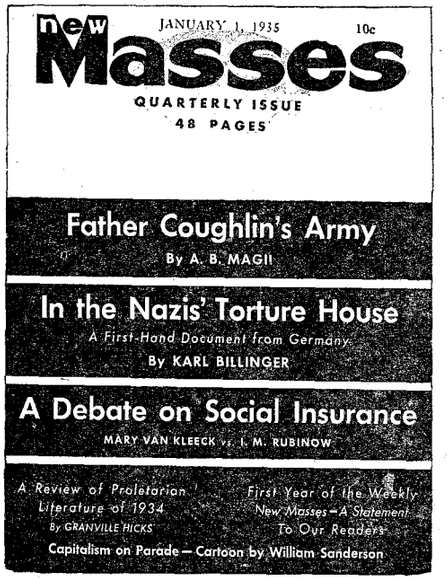
New Masses
JANUARY 1, 1935
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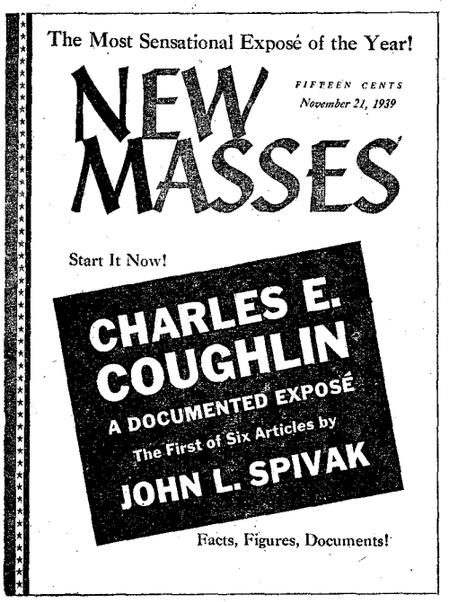
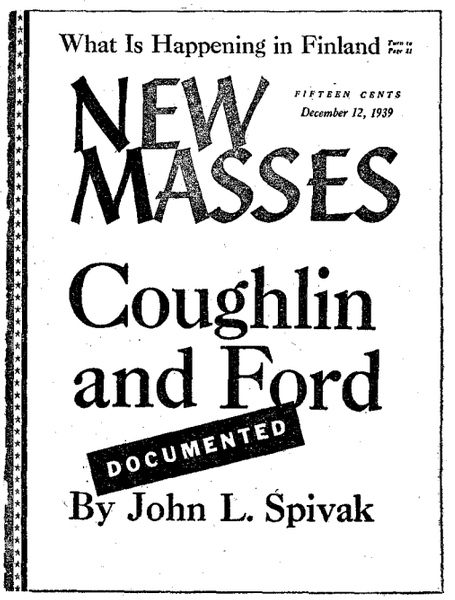
QUARTERLY ISSUE
48 PAGES
Father Coughlin's Army
By A. B. MAGIL
In the Nazis' Torture House
A First-Hand Document from Germany
By KARL BILLINGER
A Debate on Social Insurance
MARY VAN KLEECK vs. I. M. RUBINOW
A Review of Proletarian Literature of 1934
By GRANVILLE HICKS
First Year of the Weekly New Masses—A Statement To Our Readers
Capitalism on Parade—Cartoon by William Sanderson





A DECADE AGO WE SAID—

For almost a decade now New Masses has warned the country about Charles E. Coughlin: in its issue of May 8, 1934 this magazine put the spotlight on the Royal Oak fuehrer, comparing his propaganda with that of his colleague on the Wilhelmstrasse. In our January 1935 issue A. B. Magil, writing from Detroit, asked: "Will Father Coughlin be the American Hitler?" Magil said then that Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice is "a national union for the preparation of fascism."

We have never faltered in exposing this sinister character: this is not the first time that John L. Spivak has dug deep into the secrets of the Detroit fascist. His unforgettable series on Silver Charlie Coughlin that began Nov. 21, 1939, first revealed the spellbinder's secret meetings with Nazi agents and anti-American propagandists.

Now, as this fascist re-emerges into the open, Spivak warns America of Coughlin's latest plotting.

This service to America is made possible only through the loyal support of NM's readers. It is what you do in our annual financial drive that results in exposes of this calibre, which—we are glad to see—stimulate other American publications to get at the truth. And thus millions are made aware of the menace before the nation.

This is, as we said last week, the first major editorial project this year. (We have others in store such as: a tour throughout the country highlighting the latest political developments as they head toward this fateful November; etc., etc.)

But we cannot do our best, cannot get these projects underway effectively, unless the means are forthcoming. We regret to announce that our drive for funds this year has not, to date, netted the expected results. We are behind in schedule. Less than $10,000 has come in so far—and we expected to raise $28,000 through May. Our creditors are impatient; and their demands must be met to continue normal operations, let alone planning for editorial projects such as the current Spivak series.

What is your answer?

(Please turn to page 31)

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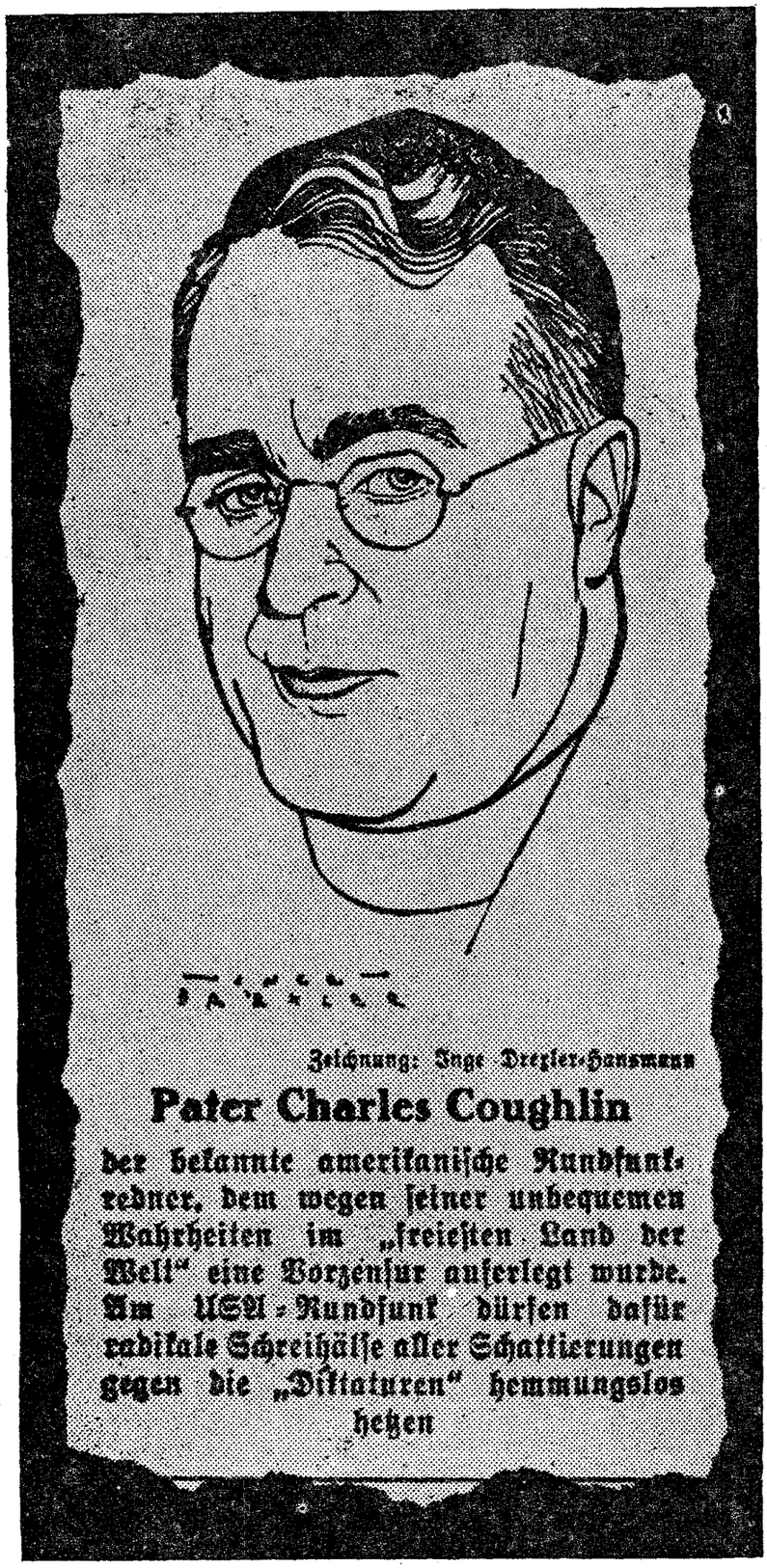
COUGHLIN BUILDS AN ARMY

By JOHN L. SPIVAK



Zeichnung: Inge Dreyfer-Hansmann

Pater Charles Coughlin

der bekannte amerikanische Rundfunkredner, dem wegen seiner unbequemen Wahrheiten im „freiesten Land der Welt" eine Vorzensur auferlegt wurde. Am USA-Rundfunk dürfen dafür radikale Schreihälse aller Schattierungen gegen die „Diktaturen" hemmungslos hetzen

Last week John L. Spivak revealed the outlines of a vast conspiracy, organized by prominent Americans, to launch a concerted drive to force a negotiated peace with Germany simultaneously with the opening of the second front in western Europe. This campaign is to be timed with the second front in the hope that the inevitably larger casualty lists will make the American people susceptible to the negotiated peace propaganda. A twin objective of this plot is the defeat of the Roosevelt administration in the 1944 elections. The conspiracy got under way early in 1943, shortly after the Nazi debacle at Stalingrad, with a series of secret conferences called by Gen. Robert E. Wood, former head of the America First Committee, Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago "Tribune," and Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, employed by Henry Ford. Present at these conferences were former America First leaders, representatives of Charles E. Coughlin, and certain United States Senators notorious for their defeatist views. The Coughlin representatives were from Boston—William B. Gallagher, superintendent of printing at the Boston Public Library, and Patrick J. Moynihan, both of whom had been also local America First leaders. In an interview with Gallagher Spivak drew damaging admissions from him concerning these secret meetings and the objectives of the conspiracy. Among the plans revealed by Gallagher was one to use wounded war veterans and mothers whose sons had been killed or wounded to demand peace now with Germany and the defeat of President Roosevelt.—The Editors.

IN THE course of my investigations I had learned that Charles E. Coughlin was organizing some sort of body within the American armed forces. I decided to go to the Shrine of the Little Flower at Royal Oak, Michigan, to see what further information I could get.

As you enter the church, immediately to your left is a white marble statue in a white marble niche. When my eyes became ac-

HEIL COUGHLIN! Hitler's official paper, the "Volkicher Beobachter," hailed Silver Charlie as a pal, Nov. 27, 1938. The Nazi blurb translates: "The famous American radio speaker who, because of his embarrassing truths, had to submit to precensorship in 'the freest land in the world.' On the other hand, all sorts of radicals are permitted on the radios of the USA to clamor against 'dictatorships.'"

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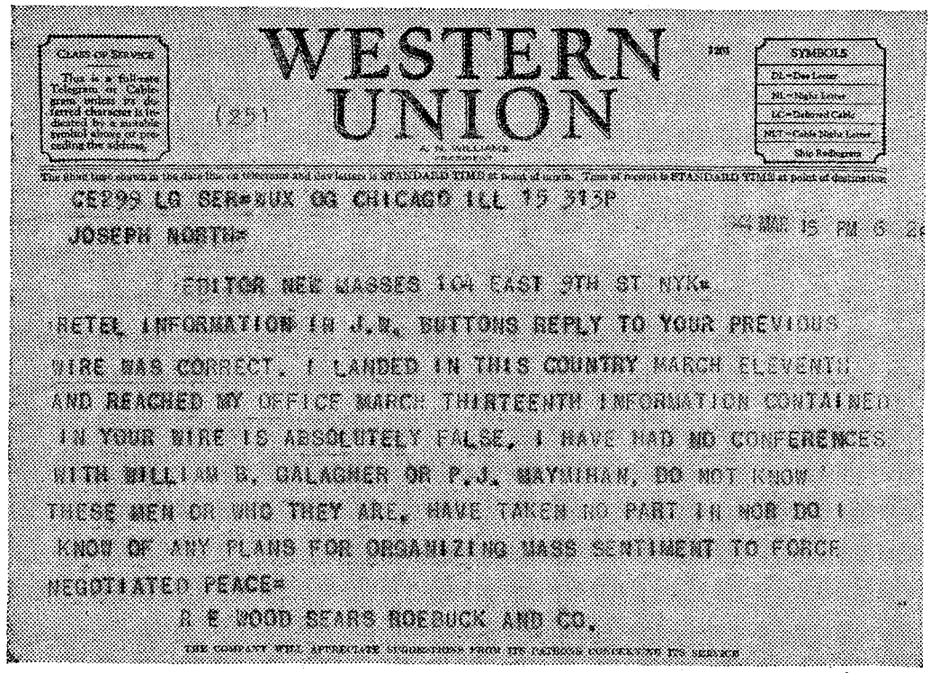

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JOSEPH NORTH=

EDITOR NEW MASSES 104 EAST 9TH ST NYK=

RETEL INFORMATION IN J.W. BUTTONS REPLY TO YOUR PREVIOUS WIRE WAS CORRECT. I LANDED IN THIS COUNTRY MARCH ELEVENTH AND REACHED MY OFFICE MARCH THIRTEENTH INFORMATION CONTAINED IN YOUR WIRE IS ABSOLUTELY FALSE. I HAVE HAD NO CONFERENCES WITH WILLIAM B. GALAGHER OR P.J. MAYNIHAN, DO NOT KNOW THESE MEN OR WHO THEY ARE, HAVE TAKEN NO PART IN MOB DO I KNOW OF ANY PLANS FOR ORGANIZING MASS SENTIMENT TO FORCE NEGOTIATED PEACE=

R E WOOD SEARS ROEBUCK AND CO.

March 18,1944

Joseph North,Editor,
New Masses,
104 East 9th Street,
New York,N.Y.

Dear Joe:

Thanks for sending me a copy of Gen. Wood's flat denial that he ever conferred with Gallagher or Moynihan and that he does not even know who they are.

Wood denies holding secret conferences and Gallagher admits them. It seems to me that these conferences which are being denied and admitted,are of sufficient importance to the country and to the future peace of the world to warrant placing Wood,Gallagher,Moynihan,Lindbergh, McCormick and others under oath to get their testimony.

This is not just a journalistic expose to be handled by a reporter or a magazine. It is a job for the Federal Government.

John L. Spivak

Last week New Masses published the text of a telegram to Gen. Robert E. Wood, former head of the America First Committee, Col. Robert McCormick, publisher of the Chicago "Tribune," and Charles A. Lindbergh, asking them to comment on our information that they had held secret conferences with two Coughlin representatives, William B. Gallagher and P. J. Moynihan, to organize a drive for a negotiated peace. We also published a telegram from J. W. Button, office assistant at Sears Roebuck, Chicago, to the effect that General Wood had been out of the country for weeks on a government assignment and that the time of his return was indefinite. On learning several days later that General Wood was in this country, NM Editor Joseph North wired him again. Above is Wood's reply, together with Spivak's comment on it.

customed to the semi-darkness of the interior I noticed a neatly lettered placard at the statue's feet. I leaned forward to make it out. The placard read: "St. Sebastian's Brigade," and underneath it, in smaller letters, was an invitation to enroll the member of your family or your loved one now in service.

"Brigade" is a fighting word and I could not forget that the pastor of this very shrine had once organized a gang of hoodlums who attacked citizens on the streets of American cities, and himself had brazenly threatened the people of the United States, "We will show you the Franco way!" A brigade of service men organized as "a religious activity," if controlled by an unscrupulous demagogue, could easily become a threat to the peace of the country.

St. Sebastian's Brigade now has 130,000 enrolled men in the American armed services. It thus constitutes one of the most menacing activities connected with the secret conferences called by Gen. Robert E. Wood, Col. Robert R. McCormick, Charles A. Lindbergh, and men recognized as Coughlin's personal representatives. Let me tell the story of this brigade from its inception. It is a typical Coughlin story, a sordid attempt to capitalize on religious faith, in order to line up a large body of followers and incidentally collect money for which he makes no accounting to his Church superiors. At this point let me assert in unmistakable language that I am speaking here of the *political activities* of an individual named Charles E. Coughlin who happens to be a priest of the Roman Catholic Church. Nothing I say here is intended as a criticism of that church or of its leaders, many of whom are as strongly opposed to the political activities of Coughlin as I am.

Coughlin always wanted a body of fighting men loyal to him. He started such a body with the Christian Front, but public reaction against his rioting hoodlums and the arrest of a number of its members on charges of conspiring against the government of the United States, effectively brought that organization to a close. It was pretty certain, after war was declared, that the government would clamp down on his anti-democratic propaganda in *Social Justice* magazine, his chief remaining contact with his followers. When the magazine's brazen pro-Nazi propaganda became too scandalous he announced that it was not his. "Ownership" of the publication went from one Coughlin organized corporation to another until, in its last days, Coughlin's parents "bought" it for $10,000. It was no secret that everyone, including Coughlin, expected the government not only to stop the publication but to charge its owners and editors with sedition. At this point Coughlin publicly assumed full responsibility for the magazine which for years he had insisted he did not own.

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When the war broke out, Coughlin saw his chance to build on a new basis. Many of his followers and the sons of his followers were being drafted. When peace came and they were demobilized, they would be men who had fought for their country. Some might even have medals attesting to a nation's gratitude; others would have wounds to show their loyalty to America. It would be difficult to call such veterans pro-Nazi or pro-fascist if they resumed Christian Front activities. They could claim that they, who had fought on foreign soil to defend the United States, were simply continuing the same fight on American soil against "the country's enemies." If led by an unscrupulous demagogue, such a body of men could cause a lot of trouble.

Coughlin could not try to build an organization loyal to him within the Army while the boys were in the service, for military authorities would nip it instantly. But an organization could be built as "a religious activity," since religion is recognized as a powerful factor in morale. The boys themselves, scattered over the far ends of the earth, could not be reached with suggestions that they join an organization for "religious activity," but a mother or a father could enroll them in such a body. Thereafter, contact between the priest and the fighting men would be practically at the request of the boy's parents. If a way could be devised to achieve this, Coughlin could establish and maintain contact not only with men in the services but also with the civilians who enrolled the fighting men.

The first requirement was a religious rallying symbol—something like a saint who, Coughlin could assure them, would take the soldiers under his protective wings. No one could possibly object to a saint guarding our fighting men. For this it was necessary to get a patron saint of soldiers. Coughlin looked about in the Catholic list of accredited and accepted saints for one who would serve his purpose. Unfortunately there wasn't any, but the lack of a patron saint of soldiers from among saints recognized by the Catholic Church didn't faze the Royal Oak Goebbels. He just proceeded to make one on his say-so.

One of the saints about whom very little is known is Sebastian. He was a soldier who was killed by arrows and that's about all the legends report. Coughlin chose Sebastian and tried him out on his congregation a few weeks after Pearl Harbor by launching "a prayer campaign" for men in the armed services. *Social Justice*, which was still in business, carried a small item about it in its Jan. 26, 1942, issue. The story stated that "The pastor of the shrine asked all his parishioners to list with him the names of the men in the service." Those so listed, the readers were assured, "will be remembered every day at all the masses at the shrine for the duration. Moreover, special prayers will be said each day to Almighty God, through St. Sebastian, for the safekeeping of the boys who are doing the actual fighting."

The two friendly fuehrers, Gerald L. K. Smith and Charles E. Coughlin, are shown at the convention of the National Union for Social Justice in 1936 at which the Royal Oak Goebbels was compared to Jefferson, Lincoln, and Jesus Christ.

Coughlin's followers reacted nobly. Parents sent in the names of their sons; girls, of their sweethearts; sisters, of their brothers. The names kept coming and Coughlin, never one to overlook a possible money-making scheme, saw additional possibilities. For years *Social Justice* had run contests and offered prizes to stimulate subscriptions, but none had ever produced a response like this idea.

Within a few weeks the "prayer campaign" became a sickening commercial drive to get subscriptions to the privately-owned magazine. Daily masses and prayers to Almighty God, through St. Sebastian, for the lives of men on the battlefield proved a terrific means of attracting subs. And there was no hesitancy on the part of the publication in playing upon the deepest of religious beliefs and a mother's love for her son to get money in order to spread the magazine's Nazi propaganda. Coughlin prayed for St. Sebastian's intercession for those enrolled in the brigade, and *Social Justice* sent boys medallions which placed them under the Saint's protection—in return for a subscription.

In its Feb. 16, 1942, issue *Social Justice* devoted a full page to the virtues of Sebastian as the soldier's friend, and loudly proclaimed:

"To keep in step with this patriotic devotion as well as to help spread and encourage it, Social Justice Publishing Company has designed and ordered a beautiful sterling silver St. Sebastian medallion and chain which those under his protection may wear about their necks.

"Your boy will prize its possession. Our stock is limited. In a short while the supply will be exhausted.

"During the next few weeks, we will mail this beautiful gift to you to send to your soldier, if you will solicit some friend and send in a new subscription to *Social Justice* magazine."

Underneath this the advertisement added parenthetically, "We regret that renewals of present subscriptions cannot qualify for this gift."

WHAT devout Coughlin follower—mother, father, sister, or sweetheart—who saw the loved one off to war could resist enrolling him in the brigade and getting the medallion which placed him under the Saint's protection? And who would even think of checking Coughlin's authoritative statement that Sebastian was the soldier's patron saint and expect to find that the Catholic Church doesn't so consider him, that in fact the Saint's protection is primarily invoked against the plague?

I have written before about Coughlin's dissemination of Nazi propaganda and

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his peculiar financial manipulations. But I never before felt the revulsion that came over me when I read these ads offering medallions to protect Catholic boys facing death on the battlefield in exchange for subscriptions to a sheet which spread propaganda issued by the very Nazis at whose hands these boys might die.

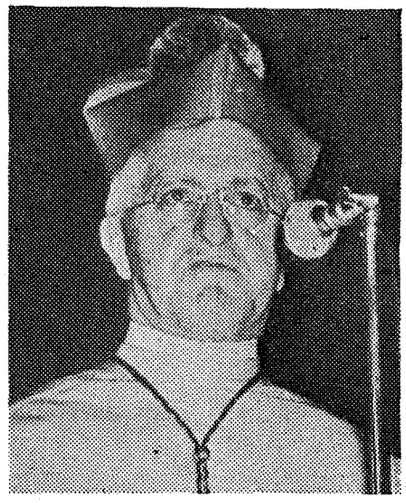
Once a service man was enrolled in the brigade, Coughlin got in personal touch with him by mail. He is fully aware of what it means to a devout Catholic in a hell hole of the South Pacific or a craggy mountain top in Italy to get a letter from a priest stating that his mother enrolled him in the brigade; that he is remembered at daily masses; that the priest himself is praying for Sebastian's intercession on his behalf with Almighty God. And Coughlin knows that only a small percentage of soldiers are killed. The great majority come through unscratched or slightly wounded. The percentage of brigade members who will come back alive is overwhelmingly in his favor. He also knows that many of those brigade members will believe to their dying day that the priest's prayers and St. Sebastion's intercession brought them back alive.

Coughlin promised to "enscroll the names on the walls of the chapel of St. Sebastian at the shrine." As the names kept coming in he hung them on shrine walls until they passed 70,000. When all wall space was practically obscured he had them taken down, filed alphabetically, and locked in the tower where they now are.

In April 1942, *Social Justice* voluntarily suspended publication to avoid federal prosecution on a sedition charge. By then the names of service men enrolled in the brigade by mothers and fathers who believed Coughlin's assurance that Sebastion was the "patron saint of soldiers," had reached encouraging proportions. Though money could no longer be collected for subscriptions, there was nothing to prevent grateful parents from sending contributions. As the lady in charge of the souvenir shop at the shrine told me, "There's no charge for enrolling a service man,"—and here she looked brightly at me—"but most everybody sends a contribution to help defray the cost of the medallions and the mail. Father, you know, keeps in touch with brigade members personally."

These contributions average three dollars per enrollee, which means that almost $400,000 has been collected. Since St. Sebastian's Brigade is "a religious activity," organized in his church by a parish priest, its activities and the money it received would have to be reported to his Church superiors. This meant that the Church would control not only the money but the brigade, a prospect which did not leave Coughlin very enthusiastic. But—the diocese could not control a lay organization, so the brigade became a project sponsored by the League of the Little Flower, a Coughlin-organized corporation. It was the

WHAT PROMINENT



Cardinal Mundelein

"His Eminence, George Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago, having been importuned by news commentators and correspondents from every section of the country in reference to the broadcasts of Father Coughlin of Detroit, makes the following statement:

" 'As an American citizen, Father Coughlin has the right to express his personal views on current events, but he is not authorized to speak for the Catholic Church, nor does he represent the doctrine or sentiments of the church.' "—Dec. 11, 1938.

Archbishop McNicholas

"Whatever be his intention, Father Coughlin gives the impression that he appeals to force and in so doing he is morally in error. There is no excuse for inciting in the people the spirit of violent rebellion against conditions which do not actually exist and may never exist. . . . As a public and responsible teacher of morality in this community I cannot let pass a statement attributed to Father Coughlin in the daily press. His statements have made impressions on the public which it is my duty to correct."—Archbishop John T. McNicholas of Cincinnati, Sept. 25, 1936. (This statement was issued after Coughlin, in a speech attacking President Roosevelt, advocated the use of bullets instead of ballots.)

Catholic Laymen's League

"Coughlin's appeals to bigotry, hatred, violence, and virulence; his cowardly Jew-baiting; his shameless use of his cloth to insult the President of the United States; his wild-eyed threats of 'bullets instead of ballots' only emphasize his ill-concealed contempt, if not his complete ignorance, of American institutions." Catholic Laymen's League Opposed to Political Ecclesiasticism, William R. Wallace, secretary, Oct. 28, 1936.

"Osservatore Romano"

"Vatican City, September 2. — The Rev. Charles E. Coughlin's political activities and his attacks on President Roosevelt in the heat of the presidential campaign were severely criticized today by the 'Osservatore Romano,' which usually reflects opinions of the Vatican." —New York "Times," Sept. 3, 1936.

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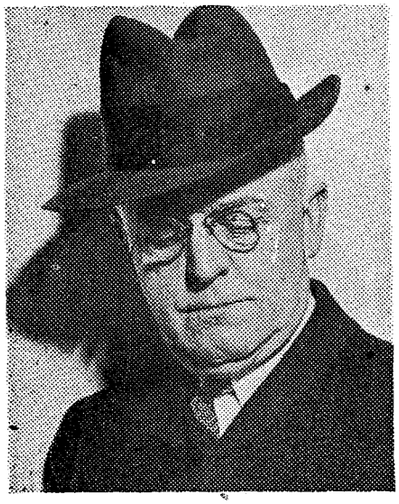
CATHOLICS SAID ABOUT COUGHLIN



Frank J. Hogan

". . . we Catholics cannot permit men of ill will to preach in America bigotry and anti-Semitism without raising our voices in protest. . . . Upon the unquestionable authority of Pius XI as given to the world in his public utterances, I speak today to refute any idea that any one who preaches racial or religious intolerance speaks for the Catholic laymen or the Catholic priesthood."
—Frank J. Hogan, president of the American Bar Association, in a radio speech occasioned by Coughlin's anti-Semitic campaign, Dec. 11, 1938.

Alfred E. Smith

"When a man presumes to address so great a number of listeners as Father Coughlin reaches, particularly if he be a priest, he assumes the responsibility of not misleading them by false statements or poisoning their judgments with baseless slanders. From boyhood I was taught that a Catholic priest was under the divine injunction to 'teach all nations' the word of God. That includes the divine commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.' "—Alfred E. Smith, Nov. 28, 1933.

Quentin Reynolds

". . . And what of that man who once took a vow of humility, that fine, upstanding, militant soldier of Christ, Charles E. Coughlin? If I omit the title 'Father' it is because we Catholics have too much reverence for that title to bestow it on anyone so un-Christian-like, so un-American as this twice divorced priest of Detroit. First he divorced himself from the Church, then he divorced himself from his country. 'Social Justice' is still being sold. I bought one on Eighth Avenue the other day. I looked through it and asked the woman selling it if she happened to have a copy of the 'Volkischer Beobachter.' She asked me what that was. I told her it was the same paper printed in German.

"If anyone doubts the kinship between the two papers let them compare any issue of the Nazi party paper with the Coughlin editorial in the December 29 issue of 'Social Justice.' Was the Bill of Rights written to protect the Coughlins of this country from the just anger of real Americans?"

Quentin Reynolds, noted foreign correspondent for "Colliers," in a speech at Freedom House, March 19, 1942.

"The Commonweal"

"But it was his [Coughlin's] tendentious radio talk of November 20 that gained him the same accolade from the inspired German Nazi press, that court of last appeal in such matters. It isn't very strange that these sworn enemies of 'political Catholicism' at this time brought him as a hero to the attention of a bewildered and sorely tried German people."—"The Commonweal," Catholic weekly, Dec. 9, 1938.

"The anti-Semitism of 'Social Justice' is of the universal, hysterical variety that corrupts the total point of view and cannot be abstracted from its politics, economics and sociology and cannot be set up in logical propositions which reason can, by disproving, eliminate. Its anti-Semitism is against logic, experience, science and, most important, so far as we understand it, the whole truth and spirit of Christianity."—"The Commonweal," April 10, 1942.

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same old scheme of the "non-profit making" corporations which he had used so successfully in the past to keep his church superiors from getting reports on what his organizations were doing and what happened to the money they collected.

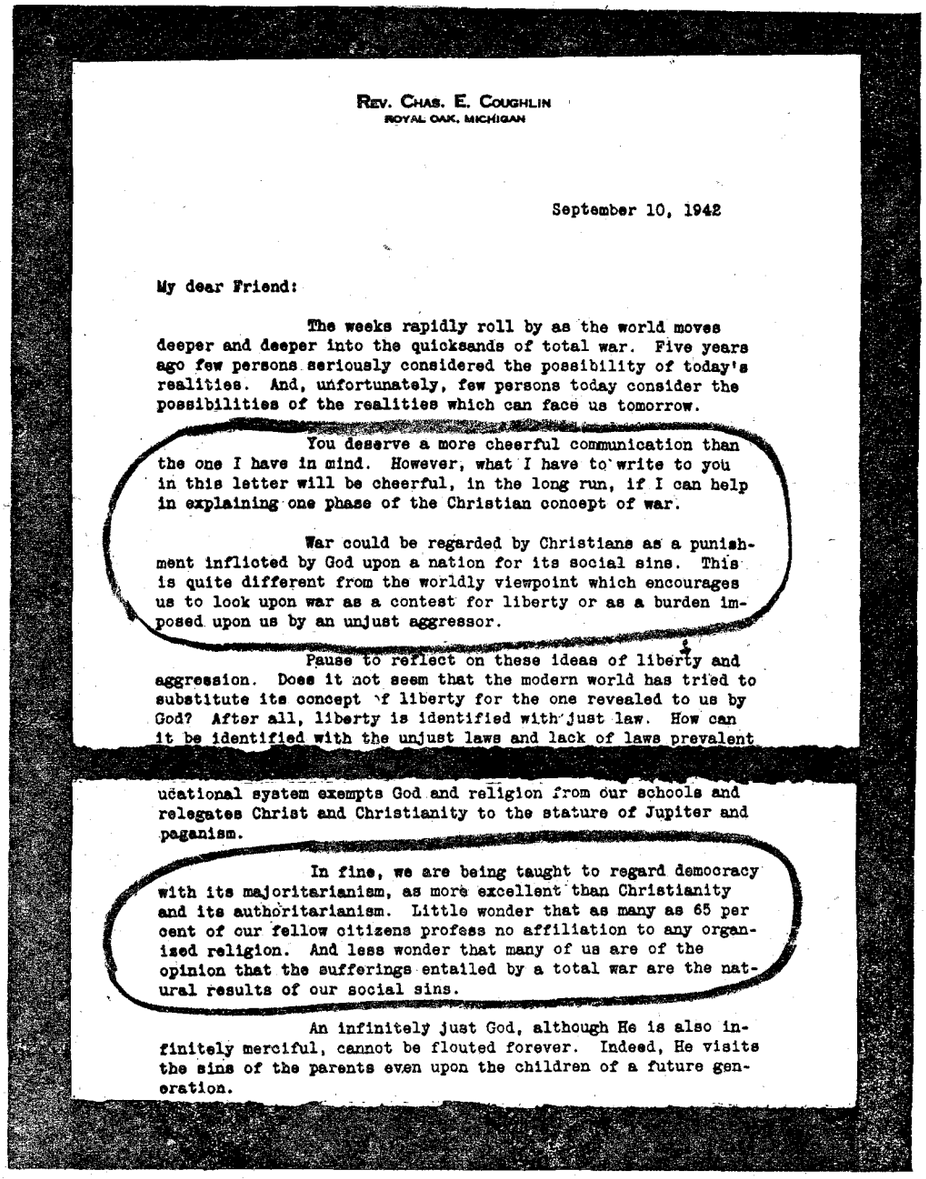
COUGHLIN's connections with the brigade, however, were so definite and the membership had grown to such proportions that he decided to inform the diocese about his new outfit before Archbishop Mooney got the idea that he might be building a potential private army. In November 1942, he wrote the diocese that he planned to organize a St. Sebastian's Brigade, which was to be used to give boys in the service "a spiritual Christmas gift," the gift to consist of prayers for their spiritual and physical safety and a St. Sebastion's Brigade medallion which would put them under the protection of the "patron saint of soldiers." This was the first official knowledge the diocese had of the organization Coughlin had launched eleven months earlier!

Coughlin, though forbidden several years ago to participate in political activities by his Archbishop, never ceased carrying on propaganda after he went off the air and *Social Justice* was suspended. He kept in touch with his followers by a flood-tide of mail, especially directed to the 70,000 members of the lay-controlled League of the Little Flower. These communications were usually phrased in pious language with the propaganda worked in subtly. Let me illustrate:

Sept. 19, 1942, when the brigade, controlled by the League of the Little Flower, had grown to sizable proportions, he sent the League membership a four-page, single-spaced letter discussing the "Christion concept" of war. "War," he wrote piously, "could be regarded by Christians as a punishment inflicted by God upon a nation for its social sins. This is quite different from the worldly viewpoint which encourages us to look upon war as a contest for liberty or as a burden imposed upon us by an unjust aggressor."

The mother of the soldier, or the devout soldier himself to whom she sends the priest's letter, wonders if he's really fighting for liberty and against an "unjust aggressor" or if we're just being punished by God. Such thoughts planted in the minds of fighting men are hardly designed to arouse in him a desire to defend his country against "unjust aggressors."

A little later in the same letter, doubt is raised whether democracy, for the preservation of which the soldier believes he is fighting, or dictatorship, is better in the eyes of God, for Christianity, according to Coughlin, believes in dictatorship. Since the word "dictatorship" is a very unpopular one with Americans today, it becomes in Coughlin's letter "authoritarianism." The man who denounced democracy while disseminating Nazi propaganda emanating from Berlin, states with a touch of indignation but with the same pious air: "In fine, we are being taught to regard democracy with its majoritarianism, as more excellent than Christianity with its authoritarianism."



REV. CHAS. E. COUGHLIN
ROYAL OAK, MICHIGAN

September 10, 1942

My dear Friend:

The weeks rapidly roll by as the world moves deeper and deeper into the quicksands of total war. Five years ago few persons seriously considered the possibility of today's realities. And, unfortunately, few persons today consider the possibilities of the realities which can face us tomorrow.

You deserve a more cheerful communication than the one I have in mind. However, what I have to write to you in this letter will be cheerful, in the long run, if I can help in explaining one phase of the Christian concept of war.

War could be regarded by Christians as a punishment inflicted by God upon a nation for its social sins. This is quite different from the worldly viewpoint which encourages us to look upon war as a contest for liberty or as a burden imposed upon us by an unjust aggressor.

Pause to reflect on these ideas of liberty and aggression. Does it not seem that the modern world has tried to substitute its concept of liberty for the one revealed to us by God? After all, liberty is identified with just law. How can it be identified with the unjust laws and lack of laws prevalent

ucational system exempts God and religion from our schools and relegates Christ and Christianity to the stature of Jupiter and paganism.

In fine, we are being taught to regard democracy with its majoritarianism, as more excellent than Christianity and its authoritarianism. Little wonder that as many as 65 per cent of our fellow citizens profess no affiliation to any organized religion. And less wonder that many of us are of the opinion that the sufferings entailed by a total war are the natural results of our social sins.

An infinitely just God, although He is also infinitely merciful, cannot be flouted forever. Indeed, He visits the sins of the parents even upon the children of a future generation.

Part of a letter sent by Coughlin to the 70,000 members of the League of the Little Flower which controls St. Sebastian's Brigade. These seditious attacks on the war and on democracy have taken the place of the more blatant propaganda of "Social Justice."

SO FAR as the brigade itself is concerned Coughlin, always a prolific propagandist, has been unusually reserved. Apparently the less public attention it attracts at this time the better he likes it. The only thing he has issued directly about it is a cautiously written four-page little folder telling brigade members and the civilians at home to be prudent about their connections. Since he cannot give this sort of advice bluntly, he accomplishes it by describing how prudent Sebastian was in not disclosing his beliefs and expressing the prayerful hope that the soldier will follow in the Saint's footsteps. This message is conveyed by presenting "facts," about Sebastian's life. Where Coughlin got these "facts," which are not found in authoritative works accepted by the Catholic Church, he does not say.

"Without compromising himself," the folder states, "Sebastian did not disclose his Christian beliefs. . . ." It continues: "Be that as it may, it is certain that this patron of soldiers, while performing his duty and rendering to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, failed not in rendering to God the things that are God's.

"May your loved ones follow in the footsteps of the great Sebastian!

"May he, in turn, guard and guide them."

The control of a large body of ex-service men by one man is dangerous enough at best. But controlled by the politician who "took his stand" with the Christian Front hoodlums it becomes a grave threat, especially since he took the precaution to keep

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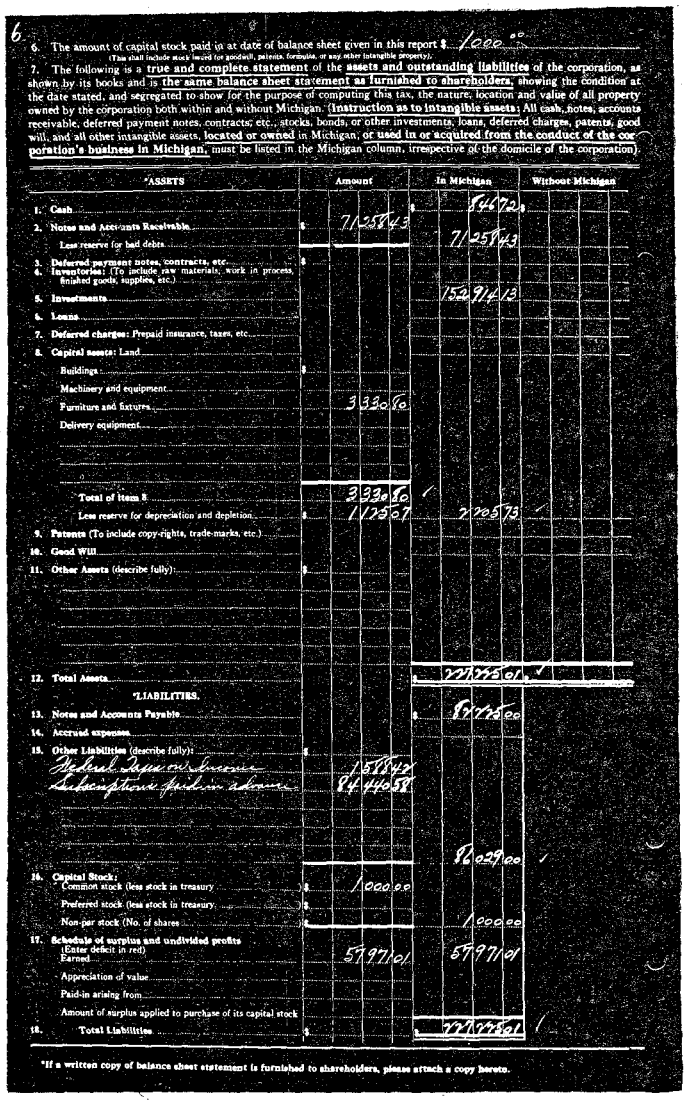
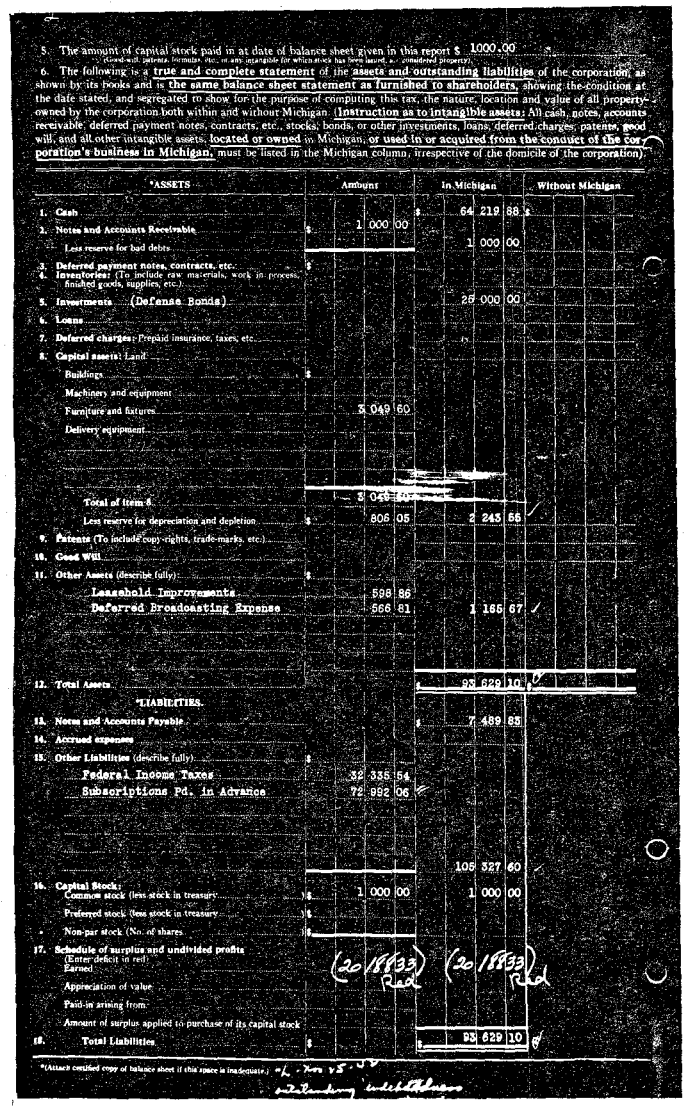


6. The amount of capital stock paid in at date of balance sheet given in this report $ 1000.00
(This shall include stock issued for goodwill, patents, formulas, or any other intangible property).

7. The following is a **true and complete statement** of the **assets and outstanding liabilities** of the corporation, as shown by its books and is **the same balance sheet statement as furnished to shareholders**, showing the condition at the date stated, and segregated to show for the purpose of computing this tax, the nature, location and value of all property owned by the corporation both within and without Michigan. (**Instruction as to intangible assets:** All cash, notes, accounts receivable, deferred payment notes, contracts, etc., stocks, bonds, or other investments, loans, deferred charges, patents, good will, and all other intangible assets, **located or owned** in Michigan, **or used in or acquired from the conduct of the corporation's business in Michigan**, must be listed in the Michigan column, irrespective of the domicile of the corporation)

*ASSETS	Amount	In Michigan	Without Michigan
1. Cash		64 72	
2. Notes and Accounts Receivable	71 258 43		
Less reserve for bad debts		71 258 43	
3. Deferred payment notes, contracts, etc.			
4. Inventories: (To include raw materials, work in process, finished goods, supplies, etc.)			
5. Investments		152 914 13	
6. Loans			
7. Deferred charges: Prepaid insurance, taxes, etc.			
8. Capital assets: Land			
Buildings			
Machinery and equipment			
Furniture and fixtures	3330 80		
Delivery equipment			
Total of item 8	3330 80		
Less reserve for depreciation and depletion	1125 07	2205 73	
9. Patents (To include copy-rights, trade-marks, etc.)			
10. Good Will			
11. Other Assets (describe fully):			
12. Total Assets		227 775 01	
*LIABILITIES.			
13. Notes and Accounts Payable		6 775 00	
14. Accrued expenses			
15. Other Liabilities (describe fully):			
Federal Income Taxes	1 558 42		
Subscriptions paid in advance	84 440 58		
		86 029 00	
16. Capital Stock: Common stock (less stock in treasury)	1000 00		
Preferred stock (less stock in treasury)			
Non-par stock (No. of shares)		1000 00	
17. Schedule of surplus and undivided profits (Enter deficit in red) Earned	57 971 01	57 971 01	
Appreciation of value			
Paid-in arising from			
Amount of surplus applied to purchase of its capital stock			
18. Total Liabilities		227 775 01	

*If a written copy of balance sheet statement is furnished to shareholders, please attach a copy hereto.



5. The amount of capital stock paid in at date of balance sheet given in this report $ 1000.00
(This shall include stock issued for goodwill, patents, formulas, etc., or any intangible for which stock has been issued, or considered property).

6. The following is a **true and complete statement** of the **assets and outstanding liabilities** of the corporation, as shown by its books and is **the same balance sheet statement as furnished to shareholders**, showing the condition at the date stated, and segregated to show for the purpose of computing this tax, the nature, location and value of all property owned by the corporation both within and without Michigan. (**Instruction as to intangible assets:** All cash, notes, accounts receivable, deferred payment notes, contracts, etc., stocks, bonds, or other investments, loans, deferred charges, patents, good will, and all other intangible assets, **located or owned** in Michigan, **or used in or acquired from the conduct of the corporation's business in Michigan**, must be listed in the Michigan column, irrespective of the domicile of the corporation)

*ASSETS	Amount	In Michigan	Without Michigan
1. Cash		64 219 88	
2. Notes and Accounts Receivable	1 000 00		
Less reserve for bad debts		1 000 00	
3. Deferred payment notes, contracts, etc.			
4. Inventories: (To include raw materials, work in process, finished goods, supplies, etc.)			
5. Investments (Defense Bonds)		28 000 00	
6. Loans			
7. Deferred charges: Prepaid insurance, taxes, etc.			
8. Capital assets: Land			
Buildings			
Machinery and equipment			
Furniture and fixtures	5 049 60		
Delivery equipment			
Total of item 8	5 049 60		
Less reserve for depreciation and depletion	806 05	2 243 56	
9. Patents (To include copy-rights, trade-marks, etc.)			
10. Good Will			
11. Other Assets (describe fully):			
Leasehold Improvements	598 86		
Deferred Broadcasting Expense	566 81	1 165 67	
12. Total Assets		93 629 10	
*LIABILITIES.			
13. Notes and Accounts Payable		7 489 85	
14. Accrued expenses			
15. Other Liabilities (describe fully):			
Federal Income Taxes	32 335 54		
Subscriptions Pd. in Advance	72 992 06		
		108 327 60	
16. Capital Stock: Common stock (less stock in treasury)	1 000 00	1 000 00	
Preferred stock (less stock in treasury)			
Non-par stock (No. of shares)			
17. Schedule of surplus and undivided profits (Enter deficit in red) Earned	(20 188 33) Red	(20 188 33) Red	
Appreciation of value			
Paid-in arising from			
Amount of surplus applied to purchase of its capital stock			
18. Total Liabilities		93 629 10	

*(Attach certified copy of balance sheet if this space is inadequate.)

At the end of 1941 "Social Justice's" books showed that it was more than $20,000 in the hole. Note that the magazine "owned" by Coughlin's parents had investments of $25,000. "Social Justice" lasted less than four months in 1942 before going out of business to avoid being prosecuted for sedition.

During that period the magazine launched the "St. Sebastian, pray for us" campaign for members of the armed forces. As a result, the deficit was wiped out and Coughlin's parents had profits of almost $58,000! Note in the statement above that the investments jumped from $25,000 to almost $153,000.

its activities from coming under the jurisdiction of the diocese. Now that Coughlin has this organization functioning as "a religious activity," the plans revealed by William B. Gallagher, regarded in Boston as Coughlin's personal representative, that war veterans will be used in the '44 campaign for a negotiated peace, become a serious matter.

The secretly meeting conferees also discussed a possible resumption of *Social Justice*, but this is still not definitely decided upon. In circles close to Coughlin it is no secret that he is awaiting an opportune time to resume issuing the publication. Of course, Coughlin will not be the owner or the publisher. His parents now "own" it. I do not want again to go into the fancy finances of the various Coughlin-organized and controlled corporations. I did that in NEW MASSES in 1939 and 1942; but I do think I should mention that there is plenty of money available to start *Social Justice* again.

Those subscriptions which came in exchange for the St. Sebastian medallion wiped out the magazine's deficit and left quite a comfortable pile in the elder Coughlins' bank account. At the end of 1941 *Social Justice* was over $20,000 in the hole. In the first four months of 1942, during the "St. Sebastian pray for us" subscription drive, the business took in enough to make up for the deficit and give the elder Coughlins earnings of almost $58,000. In this same period, too, the elder Coughlins' investments jumped from $25,000 to almost $153,000—and that's more than enough to start *Social Justice* again, since it was originally launched on $1,000. There are other figures I could give—of sums like $140,000 which vanished mysteriously, and so on, but what I have cited is enough to show that there's no lack of money in the Coughlin family to resume the private publishing business and become more active politically.

I WAS less interested in whether the diocese knew of Coughlin's continued political activity through his trusted agents than in what it knew about St. Sebastian's Brigade. He had used a cloak of religion and piety for very questionable political and financial purposes before. And now, under the guise of giving spiritual comfort to men in the armed services, he was lining up a large body of Catholics, many of whom, after demobilization, would undoubtedly feel personally loyal to him.

I called upon the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward J. Hickey, chancellor of the diocese of Detroit, whom I had seen in the past when I wanted to talk with a spokesman for the diocese about Father Coughlin's peculiar activities. I asked him bluntly what he knew about St. Sebastian's Brigade.

"Why, I guess Father Coughlin tried to get something to interest the boys and looked about for a patron saint—"

The phrase "looked about for a patron saint" sounded odd. "There is such a saint, isn't there?" I asked quickly. "Seems to me I've heard of him."

"Oh, yes; there is," Monsignor Hickey smiled.

"Is he generally recognized as the patron saint of soldiers?"

"Well—actually very little is known about him," he replied. "Perhaps," he added, "we'd better get some authoritative books on that. I have some inside and I'll look them up."

Some ten minutes later he returned with

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several volumes of Catholic encyclopedias and dictionaries. Each volume gave anywhere from four or five lines to a quarter of a page to this saint.

The *Catholic Encyclopaedic Dictionary* said: "Of the famous martyr Sebastian nothing is known; traditionally he was a soldier who was shot to death by arrows in 286. . . ." The *New Catholic Dictionary* said little is known of him, but added that he is the "patron of archers and gunsmiths, and of many cities; he is also invoked against pestilence." The *Catholic Encyclopedia* said: "Sebastian is considered a protector against the plague."

"None of these works accepted by the Catholic Church says St. Sebastian was even considered the patron saint of soldiers and athletes as Father Coughlin announced," I said, pointing to the volumes. "Can a priest on his own say-so make him a patron saint of soldiers, athletes, or anything else that pops into his head?"

"Perhaps—well," Monsignor Hickey said, "the selection of a saint is done in two ways. The first is that down through the ages the Church has uniformly recognized certain saints as patrons of a country, of the universal Church, of a parish church, and of a number of vocations and avocations.

"If one looks up the list of approved Catholic works, one finds that the number of recognized saints is very limited."

"Am I to understand that so far as Church authorities are concerned there is no recognized patron saint of soldiers?"

Monsignor Hickey sat quietly for a long while. Finally he said:

"I think that is true. I have not been able to find one so recognized."

"Has a priest authority to pick a saint and announce him as the patron saint of soldiers?"

"All a priest can do is to say, 'I find that this saint was a soldier and his life exemplifies courage, heroism, loyalty. I think he would be a good example for the soldiers of today. To my mind he seems to be a good patron for soldiers.' He could say that, I suppose."

"But could he announce him authoritatively as the patron saint of soldiers?" I persisted.

"The answer depends upon what authorities he found to support it. Otherwise he could not."

"Isn't it pretty presumptuous of Father Coughlin to set himself up as an authority above the recognized Catholic authorities on this matter?"

"If he said 'I'm starting a brigade and I'd like to have a saint whose life strikes my fancy'—by that process he could say that for his organization."

"But he didn't say that. He said definitely that St. Sebastian is the patron saint of soldiers, and Catholics accept that statement on his word as a priest.

"Perhaps we'd better get on with another aspect of St. Sebastian's Brigade," I suggested when the silence became uncomfortable. "Was the diocese informed about it when he started it?"

"Yes. We were informed in November, 1942, that the brigade was to give the boys in the service a Christmas memento."

"That is all it was supposed to be?"

"So far as we were informed by Father Coughlin. Naturally we had no objection to any such act."

"Are you informed as to how the brigade functions?"

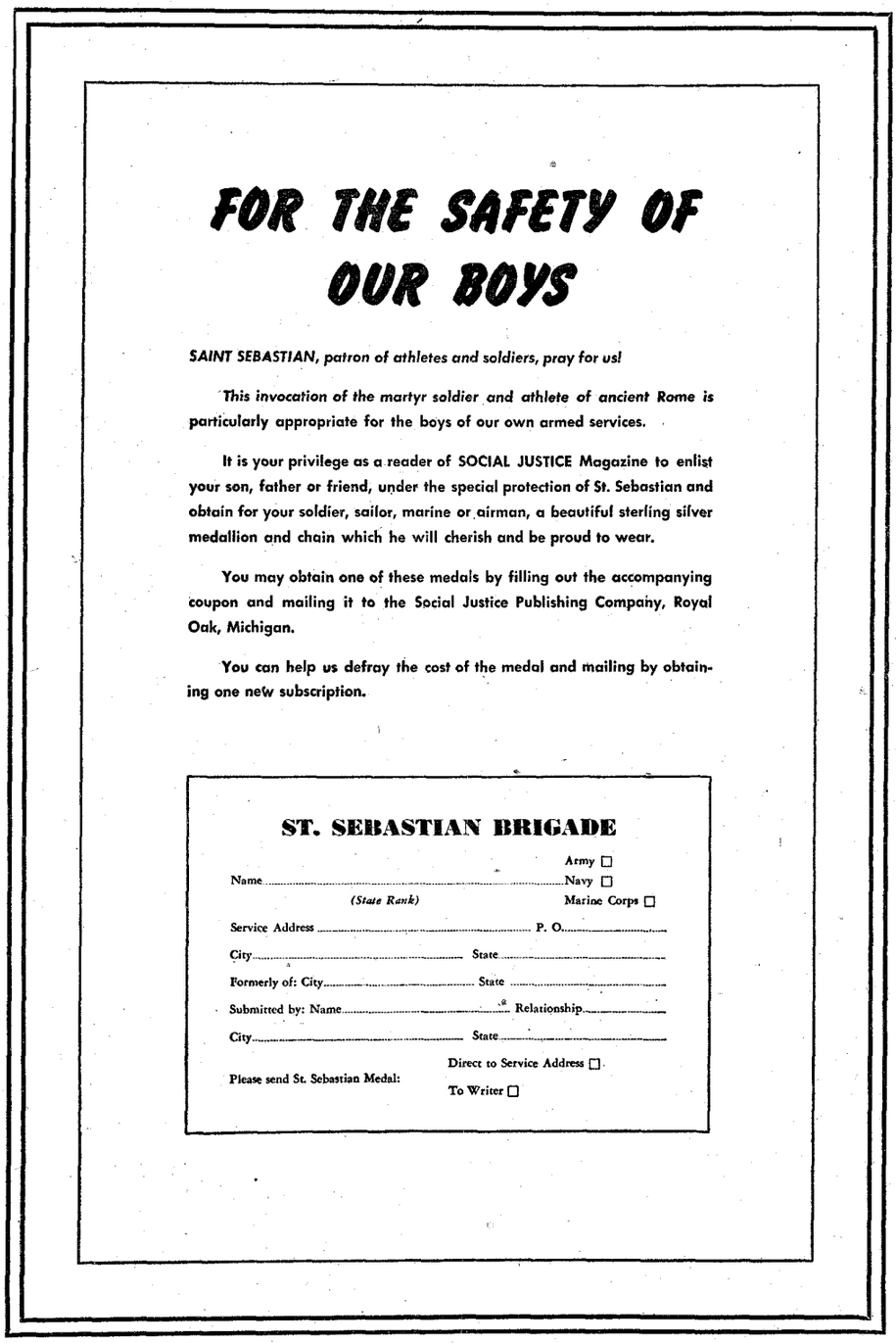
"We know only that he informed the diocese that for Christmas of 1942 he planned a spiritual gift to the families of boys in the service and to the boys themselves by offering masses for the spiritual and physical safety of the boys. So far as we know it's an honor roll of members of the League of the Little Flower which at that time numbered 70,000."

"Was the diocese informed that St. Sebastian's Brigade was originally started in the guise of a subscription-getter for *Social Justice* magazine?"

"Not to my knowledge."

"Is the diocese informed as to the number of men in the armed services who are enrolled?"

"I think not. I don't know how many are enrolled."



FOR THE SAFETY OF OUR BOYS

SAINT SEBASTIAN, patron of athletes and soldiers, pray for us!

This invocation of the martyr soldier and athlete of ancient Rome is particularly appropriate for the boys of our own armed services.

It is your privilege as a reader of SOCIAL JUSTICE Magazine to enlist your son, father or friend, under the special protection of St. Sebastian and obtain for your soldier, sailor, marine or airman, a beautiful sterling silver medallion and chain which he will cherish and be proud to wear.

You may obtain one of these medals by filling out the accompanying coupon and mailing it to the Social Justice Publishing Company, Royal Oak, Michigan.

You can help us defray the cost of the medal and mailing by obtaining one new subscription.

ST. SEBASTIAN BRIGADE

Name..... (State Rank) Army ☐ Navy ☐ Marine Corps ☐

Service Address..... P. O.....

City..... State.....

Formerly of: City..... State.....

Submitted by: Name..... Relationship.....

City..... State.....

Please send St. Sebastian Medal: Direct to Service Address ☐ To Writer ☐

The ad which appeared in "Social Justice" drumming up recruits for St. Sebastian's Brigade. Note the detailed information Coughlin sought about the enrolled servicemen, information to enable him to keep in touch with them during and after the war.

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Why Isn't He in Jail?

IT IS bad enough to have Charles E. Coughlin on the loose, but imagine him working in the armed forces! It is like giving Goebbels the right of way among our soldiers and sailors.

John L. Spivak's revelation that the man who for years has been a principal source of Nazi activity in this country is organizing in the armed forces a St. Sebastian's Brigade which already has 130,000 members should ring bells in the mind of every patriotic American. As Spivak says, this "brigade" is one of the most ominous aspects of the conspiracy he is now exposing in his NEW MASSES series, a conspiracy to exploit the casualties of the coming second front for a gigantic propaganda drive to force a negotiated peace with Germany.

We do not know whether Coughlin's "brigade" technically violates the law. He has cleverly disguised it as "a religious activity" and left it to his civilian followers to enroll their sons, brothers, husbands, and sweethearts, while he has tied this up with a sordid money-getting scheme. But Spivak also points out that the Royal Oak fuhrer *is communicating by mail with the enrolled soldiers and sailors.* What can be expected to happen to the morale of a boy who is periodically inoculated with Coughlin's fascist poison? While the Army has been introducing orientation courses in an effort to clarify understanding among the soldiers of the purposes for which we are fighting, Coughlin is feeding the members of St. Sebastian's Brigade with his own "orientation" course—ghosted by the author of *Mein Kampf.*

Last week Coughlin gave a sample of his current thinking on the war. According to the New York *Post* of March 16, he has resumed political activity with a series of unpublicized weekly speeches at his church. In his last speech he declared that "it matters not what military force wins this war." "Some say," he continued, "that they see a conflict between democracy and totalitarianism. But that's not right. This is not a war between despotism and liberty, for where is there liberty in Russia and China?" And he accused our leaders of lying about the war.

SUPPOSE you were a devout Catholic boy in England, far away from family and friends, waiting for zero hour when the order would come to fling yourself against the western ramparts of Europe in a death-grapple with a cunning, fanatic enemy. And suppose from a man whom you had been taught to respect as a priest of the Church there came to you in the mail words such as those above. How ready would you be to risk your life for what Coughlin calls a lie?

Isn't it time to end the pretense about this fifth columnist? Thirty men and women have been indicted by the federal government on charges of being agents of Hitler's world conspiracy. They have been indicted for doing exactly what Coughlin has been doing—though most of them have been far less effective than he, and are in fact pale imitations of the Royal Oak article. NEW MASSES believes Spivak's revelations are of immediate concern to the War and Navy Departments and the Department of Justice. We respectfully urge Secretaries Stimson and Knox and Attorney General Biddle to take action to end the Coughlin threat to our armed forces.

"Would you be surprised if I told you there were some 130,000?"

"Yes, I would," he said slowly, with a worried air. "I did not expect that it would have such a strong appeal."

"Do you know how much money he has received in the form of contributions from those who enrolled the boys or from the boys themselves?"

"I have no information on that at all."

"It's quite a lot, but my interest in that phase is whether the church gets it or a substantial part of it."

"The brigade is under the auspices of the League of the Little Flower and the financial statements would not be included in the parish reports to the chancellory office."

"Where would they be included?"

HE SMILED and said with a faint shrug, "I assume they would be reported to the officers and directors of the League of the Little Flower."

"Who are his paid employees?"

"That I don't know," he said.

"In other words, so far as the Church is concerned, you have no idea of how much he has taken in or what he has done with the money?"

"No, we have no knowledge of how much he has taken in or what is done with it."

"What I'm driving at is, how much of all this money collected in this particular brigade activity goes to the Church or religious activities, and how much to Coughlin?"

"It's what you might call an extra-curricular activity. The diocese isn't particularly interested in it."

"Isn't the diocese interested when one of its priests collects money for what is ostensibly a religious activity and for which he makes no accounting?"

"The diocese is interested only in his parish income."

"I know, but he is a priest in this diocese—"

"Well—the extra-curricular activities are not closely scrutinized unless there's a question—I had better not go into that."

"I quite understand that the Church would not normally scrutinize a priest's extra-curricular activities but, considering Father Coughlin's background—

"No answer?" I asked after a while.

He looked at me again without saying anything.

"All right," I smiled, "but there is an aspect of this extra-curricular activity, as you term it, about which I should appreciate an answer: is the Church interested when one of its priests who had once boldly threatened the country with 'We will show you the Franco way!' is now quietly building a powerful potential army within the armed forces of the United States?"

He thoughtfully quoted a Latin phrase.

"I gather that the phrase means that an empire within an empire isn't good business?"

"An empire within an empire would not be good religion—or good patriotism," he said slowly and emphatically.

The gigantic propaganda and political drive so secretly planned and scheduled to be launched early this year includes the use of mothers' pressure groups to demand an end to the war by a negotiated peace. Next week I shall tell the story of the secret conferences in which mothers' group leaders participated and the part these pressure outfits are to play in raising a mass outcry when the second front casualty lists start coming in.

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LESSONS FROM THE ROCKIES

By MARK DOYLE

Denver.

THE Rockies groaned in pangs of birth; great expectation filled the air; and lo! a mouse was born. Meaning, of course, that 17th Street (Denver's habitat of the high and mighty) roared in a great crusade against bureaucracy; that the Denver *Post* was filled with wishful thinking about a gigantic revolt against President Roosevelt and that Dean Gillespie, the defeatists' candidate for Congress was elected by 2,800 votes which the Republican party stole by winning a court injunction against door-to-door registration.

Colorado's First Congressional District includes the city and county of Denver. Its representative in Congress, Lawrence Lewis, died last year. Colorado's Republican governor, John Vivian, leaped to capitalize on what he considered to be a Republican trend by ordering an immediate special election to fill the vacancy left by the death of Colorado's only Democratic representative. The special election was held on March 7. Gillespie, the Republican candidate, polled 41,311 votes. His Democratic opponent, Maj. Carl E. Wuertele, polled 38,511. It was the closest Denver election in many years.

Now, there is no particular reason why the American people should be overly interested in a Denver special election. But this was a different kind of special election.

The March 7 affair was the first election since the days of the late Senator Edward Costigan in which the labor movement assumed an important role. It was one of the first real testing grounds of CIO's new political action crusade. The Wuertele-Gillespie contest shows the way to victory in November, not only in Colorado but elsewhere in the nation. Both the weaknesses and the positive aspects of the campaign indicate the type of people's political action necessary to bring about the re-election of Roosevelt.

LABOR's political action in the special election campaign began several weeks prior to the party nominating conventions. The CIO was celebrating its Labor Board election victory at the Remington Arms plant. Sidney Hillman was warning America's workers that 1944 was a year of decision. The Denver Industrial Union Council of the CIO was seriously considering establishing some sort of political action apparatus which would function as well as possible until the Hillman committee had appointed a Rocky Mountain regional director and would enter politics in a serious way in Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah.

Then Governor Vivian called the election. The people were poorly prepared for it. The defeatists were in a strategic position to do some real wrecking. Labor stepped into the breach and began swinging. The local CIO council hastily established a political action committee to survey the situation and come in with a program. The committee found 86,000 voters had been purged from the registration rolls after the last election because they had not voted. It found that the vast majority of those purged were wage earners or members of their families.

The first job was to find where every worker lived and if he were eligible to vote. It was a tremendous job for a relatively small labor movement. Unfortunately, AFL and CIO relations were at that stage where it was dubious whether they could achieve parallel action on the political front. The AFL, however, while it did not plunge into the campaign as energetically as the CIO, did achieve a fair mobilization of its members. The CIO experiences in the Denver election can be of invaluable aid to labor elsewhere in the nation.

Practically every CIO local union in the city, some seventeen in number, turned its membership lists over to the council committee, and scores of volunteers from several of the locals helped divide these names into twenty-six districts and thence into 400 precincts. The next goal was to appoint district chairmen and precinct captains. This was accomplished in about half of the city. The pressure of time forbade any hope of a perfect apparatus. A drive was then started to register voters and to elect CIO and other labor delegates to the nominating conventions. Unable to make the slightest impression on the reactionary Republican machine, the CIO was obliged to work within the Democratic apparatus, which provided that four delegates to the convention were to be elected from each precinct.

At this point the CIO leaders concluded that if the campaign was to be successful, the win-the-war base in the Democratic party would have to be extended. Overtures were made to several progressive and professional groups. Unorganized teachers, doctors, lawyers, consumer groups, and women's organizations were brought into the picture. Again the pressure of time made it impossible for a complete mobilization of these "allied" forces.

Traditionally, the precinct caucuses, all of which are held at 7:30 PM on the same day, have been closed door affairs attended in each precinct by the precinct committeeman, the committeewoman and maybe the wife and husband of the two. Each election time these three or four would have a wonderful time nominating and electing each other as delegates to the convention. If nobody showed up, the precinct committeeman had the authority to name his delegation of four. It was a system ideal for perpetuating machine politics. One could reasonably conclude that if the CIO mobilized its membership and its friends to attend these precinct caucuses the outcome of the delegates' elections might be different. With little time to accomplish the task, the CIO and the people it brought into action were successful in electing 140 delegates to the Democratic nominating convention.

Meanwhile, the Democrats had a tough time trying to decide on a candidate. Denver is an important center for government agencies, but certain forces within the party were afraid of picking a "bureaucrat." The CIO and the National Farmers Union leaders had mentioned several possibilities and at one time had agreed on a candidate. AFL agreement was not forthcoming. Democratic leaders, both state and county, were filling up a lot of rooms with cigar smoke.

At this point Barney Whatley, Democratic state chairman and supporter of President Roosevelt announced that Denver's most renowned war hero, thirty-year-old Maj. Carl E. Wuertele, would be willing to run if there were enough "draft Wuertele" sentiment. Wuertele had lost a foot when a Japanese shore patrol had shot at his bomber. He had been a Golden Gloves boxing champion, a Denver high school football star and an honor student at the University of Colorado and the University of Wichita.

He had been decorated nine times and had one of the best fighting records in South Pacific warfare. He was clean cut and he loved his country. The day before the election he declared that he had been fighting under his Commander-in-Chief for several years and was prepared to continue to fight under his leadership on the home front.

IT WAS a different Democratic convention. The night before, the Republicans had nominated Gillespie, a successful dealer in White trucks whose reactionary ideas on racial minorities, labor, "bureaucrats," and President Roosevelt were known all over town.

Philip Hornbein, Democratic leader and AFL attorney, delivered the keynote address at the Democratic convention. Some delegates, not too many, were uncomfortable when he predicted the re-election of President Roosevelt. W. W. Grant, a Willkie Democrat in the last elections, a corporation lawyer and successful dairyman,

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nominated Major Wuertele. Some rip-snorting seconding speeches were made, and then Reid Robinson, national CIO vice-president and head of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers took the platform to second the nomination. The speculation about CIO's position in the convention ceased. Robinson seconded Wuertele's nomination and it was unanimous. The convention was over in two hours' time. Barney Whatley had had his candidate named and Whatley *did not* control the county Democrats. A few days later, Major Wuertele received his honorable discharge from the Army.

The defeatist opposition to Wuertele at first took the shape of criticism because of his youth, his inexperience in politics and, believe it or not, the fact that Wuertele wouldn't be a good Congressman because he had been spending all his time fighting the Japanese and was "out of touch" with the home front.

This wasn't the kind of a campaign the defeatists wanted, however, and it didn't take them long to raise the slogan of anti-bureaucracy. The Gillespie crew pulled out all stops and Roosevelt was called everything a marine sergeant would call a Japanese officer.

FROM the beginning, the CIO and other so-called non-partisan forces who were supporting Wuertele had to overcome a strong feeling of pessimism. Some Democratic district and precinct workers, influenced by the lurid pink front page of the Denver *Post* and tabloid Scripps-Howard *Rocky Mountain News*, were all too ready to accept the opposition line that Wuertele was a weak candidate and that the people were fed up with Roosevelt.

This attitude was gradually overcome by the militancy of the labor campaign, but again the shortness of the campaign prevented the full clarification of issues before election day. Some Democrats in key positions were grateful for CIO support but still fearful of a CIO endorsement of Wuertele. This, too, was broken down in the last days of the campaign, and it was the CIO's endorsement in East Denver which carried every Negro precinct for Wuertele.

Then came the biggest blow to Wuertele's campaign. US Senator Ed Johnson, side-kick of Burton K. Wheeler in the Senate, decided the Democratic campaign, if it gathered any additional momentum, would wind up as a real win-the-war, anti-17th Street crusade. He sent word from Washington that he would like to make a few transcribed speeches in behalf of the Major's candidacy. The CIO objected; so did other forces in the campaign, but recorded Johnson speeches came into Colorado. And what speeches!

One or two Johnsonites proudly displayed a typewritten copy of the speech which endorsed Wuertele because Wuertele's election would be a protest against federal meddling and bureaucracy! In the speech, Johnson called the New Deal "the worst fraud ever perpetrated upon the American people." Strong protests caused a few paragraphs like these to be deleted, but the speech went on the air and somebody obligingly told the Denver *Post* that it was a butchered version of the original manuscript. The *Post* splashed this "expose" all over page one, inventing a new query to replace the one about Cock Robin. "Who caused Johnson's speech to be cut?" the pink front page asked.

This time, the CIO and Mayor Ben F. Stapleton yelled bloody murder and further use of the Johnson talk was curtailed. To the great white collar vote in Denver, however, the Johnson speech was Wuertele's Pearl Harbor. It was a stab in the back: the two newspapers utilized it to push their case for Gillespie, who was campaigning on issues—the issue being that Roosevelt was a so-and-so.

Labor's campaign continued to gain momentum. The AFL packed 5,000 people into the Municipal Auditorium and turned away another 2,000. The CIO organized itself strongly on a precinct and district basis. It held a CIO meeting of the air a few days before the election and guaranteed its listening audience in advance with a strong mail and leaflet campaign. The relationship between Wuertele and labor grew stronger. The candidate recognized that the way to win was to come out strongly on the issues. By this time, practically every force in the campaign was recognizing the same thing.

Through its constructive approach to every phase of the campaign, labor established for itself a place in the people's movement to support the Commander-in-Chief. Labor's job now, it seems, is to overcome any unwarranted pessimism or disappointment in the close results. Labor, particularly the CIO, is fully confident that the special election will enable the win-the-war,

"The Great Engineer," by Edith Glaser.

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pro-Roosevelt camp to overcome most of the pitfalls inherent in any political campaign.

THESE important conclusions then, can be drawn from the election. First, the negative lessons:

1. The partisan character of this election must be overcome in the fall. Labor and non-partisan forces were unable to overcome fully the Democratic vs. Republican appearance of the campaign.

2. A good war hero is a good win-the-war candidate. Major Wuertele grew politically in the campaign. He grew by leaps and bounds. If the issues had been clarified earlier, Wuertele would have won handily. The great mistake in evaluating this sort of candidate is to believe that a war hero, per se, is sufficient to win an election and beat the negotiated-peace boys.

3. The defeatists will stop at nothing this year to smear the administration. In general they will campaign on an out-and-out pro-fascist program, surrounded by phony slogans. It is therefore imperative that the issues be met aggresively.

4. Mobilization of the people for registration was less successful than mobilizing voters for the election. A high percentage of available eligible voters cast their ballot. About 53,000 registered voters did not vote, but it is safe to assume that seventy-five percent of these are in the armed forces. A higher percentage of registration would have saved the election for the supporters of Teheran.

5. The issue of the soldiers' vote assumes more importance than ever. Without the soldiers voting in this election the defeatists were able fully to mobilize *their* voting strength and rely on voting tendencies in special elections. That this was their strategy was proved when the Republicans convinced a Republican judge to issue an injunction against door-to-door registration, which had been sought by the Democrats. The law provides for such registration, but the machinery had never been used.

6. The expected large vote from the Remington Arms plant flopped because of unanticipated mass layoffs which sent thousands of working class voters out of the city to other war jobs and which all but shattered the shop steward apparatus built up by the CIO local union there. The CIO relied to a large extent on political action *within* the plant to mobilize the vote.

7. One or two large local unions did not participate to any great extent in the campaign. The closeness of the vote indicates that full mobilization of labor's voting strength could have determined victory by itself.

8. Their kinship with Senator Johnson prevented full mobilization of the railroad workers' vote. It has become more and more apparent that Johnson's sole bid to labor is the fact that he carries a card in one of the Brotherhoods.

9. The women voters must be reached *as women*. Too late did the Wuertele forces learn that insufficient campaigning for the feminine vote will wreck any election. The women who did vote in force were from the silk stocking districts of Park Hill, Cheesman Park, and other upper-bracket, traditionally conservative neighborhoods.

10. Full parallel action of all sections of labor will be necessary in the fall if the unwarranted victory of Gillespie is to be turned into a defeat.

11. Labor's vote is not enough. In cities like Denver, it is not only important to get out the *organized* labor vote—which was quite successfully accomplished—but also to get out the *unorganized* labor and white collar vote. Gillespie polled heavily in the white collar, middle class districts.

12. Even with war heroes as candidates, some sections of the American Legion can still remain a force for reaction. In this election, the Legion tacitly campaigned for Gillespie, while the Veterans of Foreign Wars circulated its membership on Wuertele's behalf. The conclusion, of course, is that the rank and file veterans of the last war *can* be reached, but that a tremendous lot of work will have to be done.

13. Men like Senator Johnson will have to be read out of the win-the-war party. They must not be permitted to associate themselves with candidates who seek to support Roosevelt and his policies.

HERE are a few of the positive aspects of the campaign and election:

1. The Democratic, pro-Roosevelt vote showed an increase over the traditional special election expectations.

2. The Republican vote has very nearly reached its saturation point in Denver. Additional, day to day work on registration will change the entire picture out here.

3. Pro-Roosevelt forces nationally can take heart. In eight Rocky Mountain states there are eight Senators to be elected this fall. The success of labor's political action thus far indicates a possibility of sending to Washington eight, solid win-the-war votes.

4. Labor has learned that it cannot rely on "machine" captains to turn out the maximum vote and is making immediate plans to correct the situation.

5. The trend of the Negro vote here shows that analyses of the Negro vote in elections elsewhere also apply to this election. The Negroes began to move here *as a people*. Despite some grievances with certain sections of the local Democratic party, practically every Negro district scored in favor of Wuertele—and by greater margins than were expected. Hitherto *non-voting* Negroes comprised the *protest* vote against both candidates.

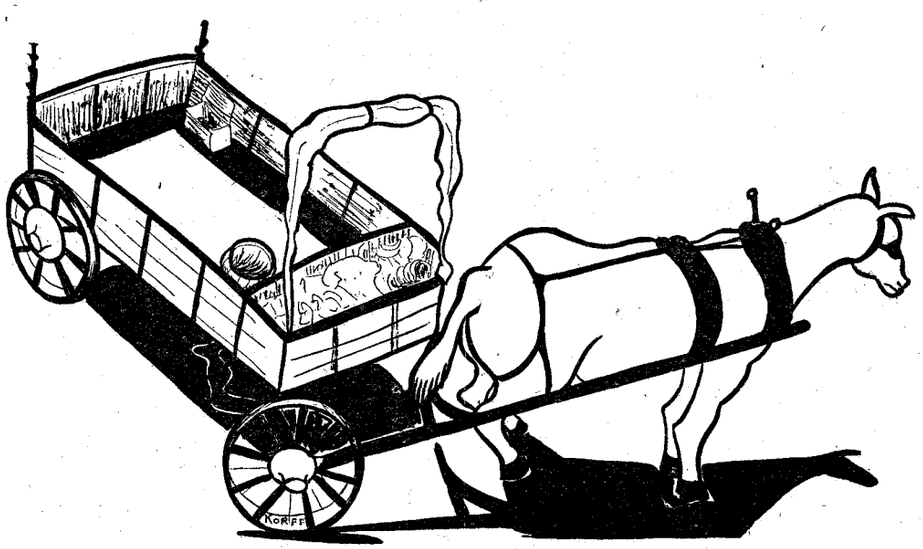
6. The CIO campaign in particular shows how it can be done. More forces were activated among the people in this campaign than in any previous election. With only a skeleton organization in the precincts, the CIO did much to change the entire character of the campaign. It reasonably expects that with a perfected organization it can bring tens of thousands of new voters for the win-the-war program.

7. Organized labor is learning that other groups are willing, even anxious, to work for common objectives in the political field. Formalism in approaching these allied groups is being broken down and the recent campaign established a sort of kinship that will prove valuable from now on.

8. Despite shyness, a real approach to labor unity has been made.

There's just one more thing that should be mentioned. The Denver *Post* has been headlining (seven columns, two line heads, too) Martin Dies' threats against the CIO Political Action Committee. The AFL paper, the *Colorado Labor Advocate*, has headlined the news, too, but with an article sharply critical of the Texas windbag.

Get this picture: William Green has been rather nasty about AFL co-operation with CIO on political action. The CIO is attacked by Martin Dies. The AFL defends the CIO in its own paper. Brother, in Colorado that's progress and a very good omen for the fall.



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THE COMMUNISTS AND THE NEGROES

A SYMPOSIUM

Several weeks ago the New York "Herald Tribune" charged editorially that Communists incite the Negro people to "unreason, lawlessness, and violence." In its February 15 issue NEW MASSES *published an article by a distinguished Communist and leader of the Negro people, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., refuting this charge and pointing out that in the Harlem outbreak of last August and in other situations the Communists have been a stabilizing factor, seeking to prevent violence and to direct the struggle for Negro rights into patriotic and constructive channels.* NEW MASSES *sent Mr. Davis' article to a number of Negro leaders, all of them non-Communists, and invited them to reply to the following five questions:*

1. From your own experience and knowledge do you think there is any validity in the charge that Communists incite Negroes to "unreason, lawlessness, and violence?"

2. What in your opinion has been the character of Communist activity among the Negro people, particularly in relation to the war effort?

3. What criticisms, if any, would you make of this activity?

4. What are the causes of unrest among the Negro people which sometimes, as in the Harlem outbreak of last August 1, assume lawless forms?

5. Do you think there ought to be cooperation between Communists and non-Communists, both black and white, in order to strengthen the war effort and eliminate the discriminatory practices that deny the Negro people full citizenship rights?

We present the replies of six Negro leaders.—The Editors.

Roscoe Dunjee

Editor, "Black Dispatch," Oklahoma City, Okla.

MY ANSWER is "no." I have had considerable knowledge of the work of the Communist Party in the state of Oklahoma and I know of no program or effort on the part of Oklahoma leaders of that organization that in the remotest way indicates a spirit of violence and lawlessness. On the other hand, all of them in their public and private address have indicated support of the government. The Communist effort in Oklahoma has made but slight dent upon Negro life.

2. I attended a Lincoln and Douglass meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Party, February 12, and I noted particularly that all of those who spoke, representing the Communist Party, gave more attention to ways and means of winning the war than to the lives of Lincoln and Douglass. It is my opinion that those Communists with whom I have had contact are one hundred percent behind the war effort.

3. I have no criticisms to make, as indicated in my answer to question number 2.

4. Current unrest among Negroes results from denial of work opportunity, discrimination in the armed forces and their general demoted citizenship status. I take no stock in the idea that outside influences are creating unrest among Negroes. It is stupid to assume that all of the people of the earth would be crying about liberty and freedom and that the Negro would not in the same moment crank his own motor while thinking about the same subject.

5. Democracy and tolerance demand cooperation and integration in our thought and life. Most assuredly Americans should stop and listen to what Communists have to say. The Russian experiment as expressed today in Soviet life is too effective for anyone to attempt to overlook this. As the president of the state conference of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I have every year for the past ten invited the Communists to address our meeting. Alan Shaw, secretary of the Communist Party in Oklahoma, addressed our state conference at Tulsa last November. Communism as a political philosophy should be discussed openly by everybody, and personally I endorse the idea of an international state and racial equality as espoused by the Communist Party.

William Henry Huff

Chicago attorney and journalist

TO BEGIN with, I am in no way connected with the Communist Party, never have been, and may never be. I am satisfied to remain in the party of my first choice regardless of its shortcomings, and I am jealous of my religious proclivities. On the other hand, I do not believe there is any validity to the charge that Communists incite Negroes to unreason, lawlessness, and violence. Such a charge, in my opinion, is not only unreasonable but vicious, and could not be made for any purpose save that of hiding the real truth from the eyes of a public in search of such truth.

While I hold in my hand no whitewash brush for the Communists, I must say they appear to be as loyal to our war effort as any other group of people in the country. That this was not so pronounced before the attack upon Russia is in my humble opinion true. But that is not the question here. I cannot recall hearing a single Communist, white or Negro, speak against our war effort since Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. This frank statement may not be pleasing either to the Communists or to the Communist haters. But, I like to tell the truth as I see it and let it go at that.

I cannot and will not criticize any loyal activity given our war effort by the Communists or by any one else. I am an American whose forebears fought, bled, and died in America's War for Independence (at Red Bank under Col. Christopher Greene) and I want to see America and her Allies win. Only a few weeks ago, Arthur Huff, Jr., my nephew, went down with his ship. (He was in the Navy.) Under such circumstances, what difference does it make whether the enemy is stopped by bullets from a gun held in the hand of a Communist, or a gun held in the hand of a capitalist? I can see no difference. Can you?

Negroes, like any other people, are incited to wholesale lawlessness by continued ill treatment. Everybody knows that. Sometimes, having taken insult after insult from anybody white who comes along, a few of them "just get sick and tired"—their "cup runneth over"—and they decide that they will be about as well off dead as alive. Usually at such times some corresponding fool act on the part of the "other fellow" occurs—a policeman or overlord or some other brute will do some "smart aleck" thing which lights the torch—sets off the fuse, whereupon a saturnalia of hell begins to rain upon the heads of all Negroes who happen along, even those who don't know what it is all about. Brutalities are inflicted upon Negroes every day that could bring about such an affray as happened in Harlem last August if enough Negroes were about who were in the "I-don't-care-what-happens" or "I-don't-care-if-I-die" mood. If you don't want dynamite to explode, don't kick it around.

I truly think there should be cooperation between Communists and non-Communists, both white and Negro, in order to strengthen the war effort and eliminate the discriminating practices that deny the Negro people their full citizenship rights. But these lines are not to be construed as an endorsement of the Communist Party. They are not written for any such purpose. They are my honest opinions without any political implications of any kind or nature.

The International Labor Defense, said by Martin Dies and others to be a Communist organization, rendered invaluable service in the fight to free the Negroes

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of Oglethorpe County, Ga., from the diabolical clutches of peonage, and it did no wholesale proselytizing among the victims it helped to set free. So far as I know, not a single person rescued from that peonage farm has turned Communist—not even Will Fleming, the most outspoken of them all. As the leader in that fight, I refrained from talking politics with any of the refugees.

In conclusion, I hold neither brief nor tomahawk for Communism, for while I do know some Communists, I know nothing of Communism.

Ferdinand C. Smith

National secretary, National Maritime Union

THESE are the days when we are seeking to eradicate the causes of evil—and evil itself. The use of scapegoats in this direction retards progress. That protests by oppressed, minority people do take violent forms at times we recognize. But we must never lose sight of the fact that the reasons for such protest have malignant roots in bad conditions. Blaming Communists will stand in the way of our reaching a solution to this problem. Poverty, humiliation, and discrimination are the factors which impel people to "unreason, lawlessness, and violence."

2. From my observations the purpose of Communist activity among the Negro people has been to give a realistic analysis of the world situation and to make clear that only by rallying around President Roosevelt's win-the-war and peace program and defeating fascism at home and abroad can the national aspirations of the Negro people be realized.

3. My criticism, that such activity is still too limited, would apply not only to the Communists but to all the progressive people of our country.

4. Covered under Point 1.

5. Emphatically yes.

Mabel K. Staupers, R.N.

Executive secretary, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, Inc.

IN RESPONSE to your letter concerning the New York *Herald Tribune* article, may I state that in our work here, we have never been too concerned about political ideologies. We have worked with people of all parties, since our organization is national.

I do not think that the riot in Harlem was due to the influence of any party. It is my belief that the riots in Harlem and other cities were due to the frustrations which Negroes suffer because of second class citizenship.

All American liberals should work together for all minorities, including the Negro.

Charles Collins

Executive secretary, Negro Labor Victory Committee

THIS statement was intended to serve two purposes. One, to convey the impression that Negroes are potentially lawless and unreasonable and need only to be incited by some group in order to commit acts of violence. Two, to split up the forces of labor and progressives, including the Communists, who are pledged to the unconditional and speedy defeat of Hitler and company, including of caurse his friends, admirers and appeasers in our midst.

Who does not know the forces that are trying with some success to incite race violence in the United States? They are: the KKK, the White Supremacy Leaguers, the press (with the exception of the *Daily Worker* and one or two others), Rankin, Bilbo, Dies, May, Talmadge, together with an assortment of Communist-baiters and labor disrupters like David Dubinsky and John L. Lewis. Some of these are now under indictment by the United States. All of them are enemies of the Negro people. Let me say for the Communists that they have helped us to weather the storm of attacks, insults, and humiliation at the hands of these people and to keep an even keel. The Communists have taught us to seek a solution to our problems, not through lawlessness, but in common struggle with all the oppressed and exploited everywhere. It was in recognition of this great contribution to our progress that all sections of the Negro citizens of New York united to send Ben Davis, a Communist, to the City Council.

The issues to be decided by this great war and the problems on the home front are becoming clearer to us. A great surprise is in store for those for whom the *Herald Tribune* speaks in this election year. Abraham Lincoln is not running this year, and even the most uninformed Negro knows that Franklin Delano Roosevelt has done more for him than any other President since Lincoln. The *Herald Tribune* should abandon this dangerously stupid line. It should begin first by employing Negroes in all categories of the paper as the *Daily Worker* has done. Secondly, it can do a service to democracy by joining with the Communists at least in this one great task of removing the fascist blot of race discrimination from the fair name of our country and of helping to secure unconditional manhood rights for America's 15,000,000 loyal Negro citizens.

Frank Marshall Davis

Executive editor, Associated Negro Press

I CANNOT agree with the New York *Herald Tribune* or anyone else who makes the wild charge that Communists incite Negroes to "unreason, lawlessness, and violence." All evidence points the other way, and it's obvious enough to be understood by anybody capable of earning a diploma from a kindergarten.

Many Negroes today are thoroughly dissatisfied with the war and constantly ask, "What have we got to fight for?" Cynicism and disillusion, coming from denial of democracy, are guests in thousands of black homes. But I do not know of a Communist anywhere, white or Negro, who shares this attitude. Not only that, but they try to convince others with whom they come in contact that the war effort should be supported with every atom of our being.

The Communists today place patriotism and winning the war above all else. They are fully behind every effort, every plan that will hasten the end of the conflict. Obviously, this is the exact opposite of "unreason, lawlessness, and violence," for such a program would hinder, not speed victory.

If the Communists were as the *Herald Tribune* described them, they could get thousands of Negro recruits. They could capitalize upon Afro-American dissatisfaction, and by promoting lawlessness, unreason, and violence throw a big wrench into the war machinery. The irony is that they have been so eager to show the Negro his stake in the global conflict and bring about unity between previously conflicting elements that many observers have disgustedly accused the Communists of "deserting the Negro's cause."

The Negro needs no Communist to tell him when he is being discriminated against, to point out to him that he is sacrificing and dying abroad for Four Freedoms and democracy he hasn't received in his native land. It is not any Red agitation, but the indifference of the majority, the refusal of white America in general to change its segregation pattern against black America that results periodically in the natural reaction of violence and lawlessness. It is quite likely that the Communists have actually prevented many such outbreaks by their determined program of harmony and unity.

It seems to me that neither the *Herald Tribune, PM,* Walter Winchell, nor any other force or individual that understands the nature of this war and wants complete victory over fascism can afford to stop and indulge in the costly and senseless sport of Red-baiting. It's silly for one ally to halt and sock a fellow fighter. All energy should be directed toward the common foe.

That means simply that men of every political or religious faith, of every culture, and color, should join hands with the Communists to hasten victory and secure the resulting peace. And if Teheran decisions are taken seriously, such a coalition would not only shorten the war, but eliminate racial discrimination on these shores.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

The Soviets and Italy

ALL the feverish speculation which followed the Soviet Union's agreement to exchange diplomatic missions with Badoglio seems to have overlooked the transcendent fact that this is a step in the implementation of the Moscow Declaration on Italy. The first provision of that declaration explicitly states that an Italian government exists, for it notes that "it is essential that the *Italian government*" (emphasis ours) observe the democratic process and include all sections of Italian anti-fascists. In other words, Italy has a government first acknowledged when the armistice terms were signed, and then referred to as such by the three powers at their Moscow meeting. And when, therefore, Badoglio requested the USSR to establish direct relations and the Soviet Union agreed, Moscow formalized what already was an existing state of affairs since last autumn.

This step is essential, it seems to us, because it helps clear the foggy atmosphere surrounding Allied relations with Italy. On the one hand, Italy is technically an enemy government which has surrendered unconditionally; and, on the other hand, Italy has been granted recognition as a co-belligerent. All this has served to confuse the Italian people and to create a political vacuum in which Italy was not mobilized for the war or permitted to assert itself as an independent and sovereign nation in the interests of its own welfare.

Formal Soviet diplomatic recognition, however, lifts the heavy mist and points the way to the solution of any number of problems until now unsolvable because the Italian government was neither fish nor fowl, neither here nor there. An exchange of ambassadors between the two governments minimizes Italy's contradictory position, and is already judged by Italians as helping them take hold of their destiny more securely. That destiny can be realized in two ways, each indivisible from the other: (1) pressure on Badoglio to make his government more representative or leave the scene to others who will, and (2) seeing to it that Italy lives up to her obligations as a co-belligerent. The pressure in both directions will come as it has in the past months, from the six-party coalition, and that pressure will be even firmer when the coalition's real source of power and strength, in the industrial areas of the Nazi occupied north, rises more and more to the surface. The National Front in southern Italy, an area primarily agricultural and relatively backward, has been effective, but it has not been able to show such undisputed strength, considering the great obstacles put in its path by the Allied Military Government, as to make Badoglio change his policies. If Badoglio considers Soviet recognition as a feather in his cap, it is also clear that the Italian people consider it as a token of confidence in them, and they will know how to use it to great advantage.

SOME liberals are dismayed by this new event because, as they see it, it means that the Soviet Union has endorsed Badoglio's internal policies. In affairs between states diplomatic recognition has never meant necessarily the endorsement by one government of another's domestic policies. This was certainly true when the United States recognized the Soviet Union. No one with a rational mind can construe the President's resumption of relations with the USSR as approval of socialism; or, in reverse, that Moscow approved capitalism. What the treaty of recognition meant was that despite the ideological gulf, both nations have common international interests which can best be attained by the closest cooperation. Furthermore, Moscow has relations with Tokyo, yet no one for a moment believes that the USSR approves Japanese policies, internal or external; or for that matter, that Moscow's formal relations with the Yugoslav government-in-exile interferes with its sympathies for Tito's Army of Liberation.

From reports in the newspapers it would seem clear that Secretary Hull did have information in advance of the Soviet step. Nevertheless, there have been and there are difficulties in the way of actually fulfilling what the three powers fundamentally agreed upon at Moscow. President Roosevelt, however, was quick to advise his listeners at his press conference last week not to leap to unwarranted conclusions. The scene in Italy has been complex and hard to unravel inasmuch as the AMG has frequently been in conflict with the Allied Advisory Council, in which the Soviet Union participates. The Council has operated on the Moscow principles, while the AMG, an improvised and threadbare affair dating back to the period before the Moscow and Teheran meetings, has persistently handicapped the functioning of Italy's democratic forces. And the net effect has been that the Moscow Declaration was not put into practice with the speed and thoroughness which the progress of the war demands. With the formal recognition of the Italian government, the AMG's influence is reduced, benefitting the Allied coalition as a whole by facilitating the fulfillment of Italy's position as a co-belligerent.

The New York *Times* will of course see inconsistency between our endorsement of the Soviets' formal recognition of Badoglio and our disapproval of Churchill's attitude towards Badoglio and Italy in general. In a lame editorial, the doddering old lady of Times Square has anticipated that we will go through "editorial acrobatics" now that the Kremlin has spoken, and suddenly find that Badoglio is a blessing. We shall have to disappoint the *Times* and again state that the British government's position on Italy is still in need of radical revision, because Churchill's arguments about Badoglio's legitimacy have been interpreted by Badoglio to mean that so far as the British are concerned he has carte blanche and need not hasten the fulfillment of the Moscow Declaration. The British position has been reprehensible because it freezes the democratic desires of the Italian people by disregarding their representatives and by permitting AMG, led in Italy by a notorious British reactionary, to cooperate with blackguard Italian elements centered around the king and his marshal. This is our quarrel —a quarrel which the New York *Times*, defender of Mikhailovich, of Mannerheim, and of the Polish government-in-exile, can hardly be expected to understand.

Dnieper to Dniester

THE moment the Red Army on the southern wing of the Eastern Front approached the section of the Dnieper south of the Pripet Marshes late last September, the shape of the Dnieper preordained the shape of the front. This made a great bulge overhanging the German *place d'armes* in the Ukraine like a huge rock jutting out to the west. Subsequent operations were all designed to make the "roof" crash down on this *place d'armes*, and this is what is happening right now. The operation at Zaporozhe and Dniepropetrovsk was the precursor of Krivoi Rog and the rout of the German Sixth Army (reconstituted after Stalingrad) at Kherson and Nikolaev. Kremenchug grew into Kirovograd and Pomoshnaya. Cherkassy became Korsun, then Uman and Vapnyarka and Yampol-on-the-Dniester. Kiev grew from a double bridgehead into a huge bulge which will soon fit like a gigantic cork into the natural cavity between the San, the Carpathians, and the Pruth.

Within 250 days the Red Army has

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moved from the Seym to the Styr—400 miles; from the Donetz to the Dniester—400 miles; from the Miuss (Taganrog) to the southern Bug—350 miles. Two German armies of about 300,000 men have been destroyed in two battles of encirclement and annihilation (Korsun and Snighirevka), to say nothing of the great number destroyed piecemeal along the rest of the front.

Now the Red Army is moving on four major objectives in the south—Lvov, Chernowitz, Kishinev, and Odessa: sixty, eighty, eighty, seventy miles away. Marshal Zhukov's vanguards, as we write, are thirty-four miles from the Polish border, Marshal Konev's vanguards are forty-five miles from Rumania. Marshal Vassilevsky (representing the Supreme High Command, with General Malinovsky) is 150 miles from the mouth of the Danube. The three Marshals are pushing the Germans through the "sieves" of the Bug and the Dniester and most of the German equipment remains in these "sieves."

It is clear now that it is Ukrainians who will do all the spring sowing in the Ukraine. The Red Army is not only retaking territory at a time of the year when it is of the greatest importance, it is also destroying the German army in the process. During this month of March—the thirty-third of its war with Germany—the Red Army has demonstrated that a well trained and well equipped army could not be stopped by mud (mud always did stop the Germans); that the destruction of the armed might of a first-class adversary could be achieved without the still uncertain and, in any event, slow process of "strategic bombing"; and that boldness in the long run is less costly than overcaution. These are three lessons worth assimilating, even at the eleventh hour of "the critical period now approaching," as Mr. Churchill put it the other day.

Danger in Eire

UNDOUBTEDLY the United States and Great Britain have for many months, if not longer, negotiated with the neutral de Valera government to remove the serious danger of Nazi espionage. Eire not only lies close to the western shores of England with what were unrestricted communications until two weeks ago, but it is also adjacent to the Northern Counties, where it is known large American forces await the hour of invasion. Thus the Hitlerites could easily have advance notice of convoy and troop movements over a particular route and an estimate of the strength of the forces employed.

It is perfectly clear that this danger must be reduced absolutely to the minimum. It seems probable that whatever negotiations were undertaken in the past by the United States and Great Britain were unavailing, for otherwise renewed efforts would not have had to be made publicly nor so sharply. Whatever the circumstances, the urgent request made by the American government and supported by the British that Eire remove Axis consular and diplomatic representatives must have the wholehearted support of all patriots. The invasion of continental Europe, the whole war effort of the United Nations for that matter, is the guarantee of Eire's future freedom just as much as it is ours. A neutrality which operates in favor of the Axis is a policy suicidal to Eire itself. Despite Eire's anti-British tradition, over 100,000 Irish soldiers serve with the British army, another 100,000 work in British war factories.

De Valera's government, moreover, has in several instances cooperated with the United Nations in suppressing espionage activities, in interning German paratroopers and confiscating their radios. But more is needed, for otherwise the success of the second front will be jeopardized and its price greatly increased. The American and British governments must continue to press for a solution in a way which will carry the Irish people with us. One of the most helpful adjuncts of such pressure would be for the Irish-Americans in this country to speak with one voice to Eire urging it in the interests of its own freedom and ours to dispose quickly of its diplomatic ties with the Axis enemy.

All Honor to the Partisans

WHEN the honor roll is called of those who have made the most glorious contribution to the defeat of Hitlerism, the people of Yugoslavia will be among the first to be hailed. March 27 marks the third anniversary of the rising in Belgrade which overthrew the pro-Nazi government of Prince Paul, the rising which signaled the beginning of the Yugoslavs' military and political war against fascism, now at long last recognized by the whole world. In 1941 the peasants who came down from the hills into the capital, the workers, shopkeepers, and intellectuals who formed the crowds shouting vengeance, the soldiers and young officers who occupied strategic points in the city were leaderless. Yet they expressed the pent-up emotions of a great people who would no longer submit to enslavement by their own treacherous government nor stand by while the Hitlerites struck down nation after nation throughout Europe.

By the middle of April the Nazi panzer divisions had attacked, overwhelmed the Yugoslav army, and driven the new government into exile. The state has collapsed, but the people, despite ruthless massacre, live on—the light of freedom burning strongly in their hearts. Guerrilla detachments were formed to harass the Nazis and to keep alive the political aspirations of the people. From these beginnings developed the amazing armies of Marshal Tito and the political power now embodied in a government of national, anti-fascist unity.

"It has been necessary," Marshal Tito recently said, "to shed floods of precious national blood, it has been necessary that tens of thousands of the nation's finest sons lay down their lives in the course of two years' unequal struggle with the enemy, that in the end the truth about the actual situation in Yugoslavia might hew its way through to the world." NEW MASSES is proud to have been among that handful of publications which reported the true situation from the very beginning and persistently exposed Mikhailovich's treachery. It finds great satisfaction in the fact that the necessities of fighting an anti-fascist war of coalition have finally surmounted the obstacles which earlier blocked the path of even partial recognition and the sending of aid to the gallant men and women and youth of Yugoslavia under Tito.

Mobilizing for Defeat

THOSE new, fresh Republican voices that Wendell Willkie has been telling us about spoke up with characteristic vigor at the conference of Senate Republicans at which the GOP leadership for the rest of the term was elected. With the result that those young colts, Senators Taft and Vandenberg, bounded into the top jobs and brought with them as lusty a band of Roosevelt-baiters, negotiated peace-lovers and all-around wreckers as can be found this side of Vichy, France. Taft was chosen chairman of a nine-man steering committee that will dictate Republican policy, while Vandenberg was re-elected acting chairman of the GOP caucus. Sen. Wallace White was retained at his nominal post of acting leader, but Senator White is not much of anything, while Taft and Vandenberg are a great deal of something—something that isn't likely to do the war or the peace any good.

Among the other members of Taft's steering committee will be Senator Brooks, Col. Robert McCormick's representative in the Senate; Senator Danaher, opponent of our government's foreign policy; Senator Bushfield, who owed his election in 1942 to money supplied by the du Ponts and other defeatist big business groups; and Senators Bridges and Millikin, specialists in obstructionism. Just why that favorite of seditionists, Senator Nye, was overlooked is not clear, unless it is because of the rumor that the North Dakota Senator may not survive the primaries. His win-the-war opponent, Rep. Usher Burdick, is getting wide support.

Notably excluded from any leading post were such men as Senators Austin, Ball, and Burton, who are suspected of doing too much home-work in Willkie's *One World*.

The new Republican Senate leadership tells more eloquently than any words what dominant GOP policy is toward the great commitments of the Moscow and Teheran conferences. This is the real alternative to a fourth term for President Roosevelt and the election of a pro-Teheran Congress.

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They Still Won't Vote

IT SEEMS to be six of one and a half dozen of the other as far as choosing between the new federal soldiers' vote bill and the old law is concerned. Since under the old statute only 28,000 servicemen's votes were counted in 1942 out of 5,700,000 in the armed forces at that time, it looks as if the vast majority of those who are being asked to die for their country will have no voice in choosing its future government, irrespective of whether President Roosevelt signs or vetoes the new measure.

Nevertheless, the President has acted wisely in wiring the governors of all the states in an effort to determine whether state laws already in existence or likely to be passed will enable a larger number to vote under the new federal bill than under the old. As we go to press, the replies already received indicate that in more than half the states the federal ballot will not be used.

Even in most of those where provision has or will be made for using federal as well as state ballots, the voting procedure would involve so many delays that it is doubtful whether any large number of servicemen would be able to exercise the franchise.

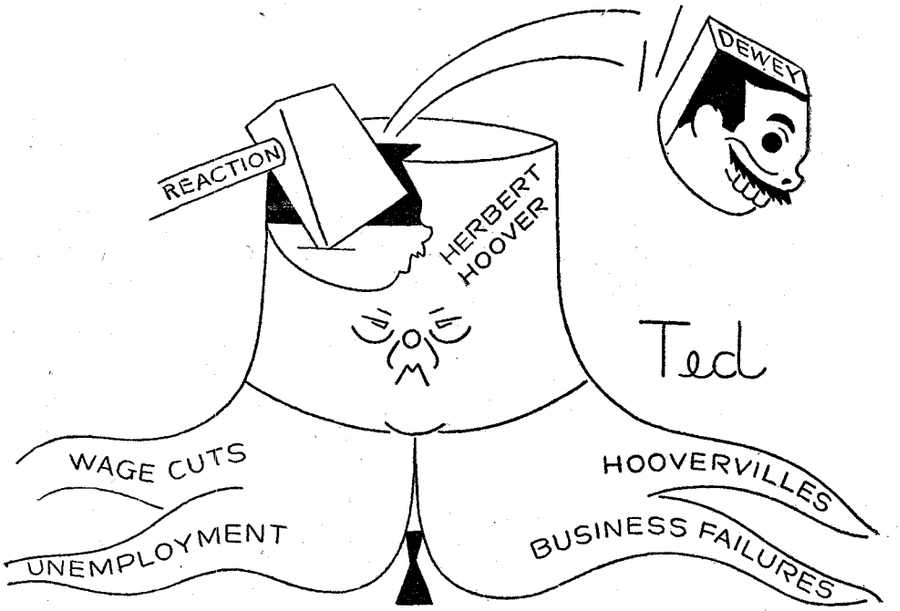
Whatever the President decides to do about the new bill, the men and women at the military fronts and on the home front will know whom to blame for the fact that millions will be robbed of the right to vote in this crucial election. Only six Republicans in the Senate and twelve in the House voted against the fraudulent "compromise" measure, while the majority of the poll-tax Democrats likewise gave it their support. We trust that those Americans who can vote in November will not forget the individuals responsible for one of the most disgraceful episodes in recent American history.

Teamwork in the Making

FURTHER evidence that forward-looking representatives of capital and of labor are thinking about postwar problems in terms that erect no insurmountable barriers between them was given the other night in a public discussion in which Eric Johnston, president of the US Chamber of Commerce, Henry Kaiser, the West Coast industrialist, and Walter P. Reuther, vice president of the United Automobile Workers-CIO, participated. The topic was "Conversion Without Depression," and all three speakers were agreed that nothing less than full production and employment was the peacetime objective. The capitalists and the labor spokesman differed, of course, as to means, but most of the differences were not of the irreconcilable kind. Disagreement centered primarily around the degree and character of government intervention to assure a high level of peacetime production and employment. Mr. Kaiser wanted to leave the chief responsibility for planning conversion to management; Mr. Johnston felt pretty much the same way; while Mr. Reuther argued for government direction and coordination.

It seems to us that the Baruch-Hancock report, if properly implemented, offers the framework for harmonizing the views of labor and capital and establishing teamwork between them. The report calls for "taking the government out of business," but at the same time it does not suggest that the government simply drop the reconversion problem into the lap of management and wash its hands of it. On the contrary, the Baruch report proposes that the War Production Board start work immediately on a reconversion plan for the day when Germany collapses.

Mr. Reuther followed the proposal recently made by President Philip Murray of the CIO for industry councils, with three-way representation of government, management, and labor, to deal with war production and postwar problems. However, whereas Mr. Murray advocated "effective participation of labor" on the War Production Board for "the planning and programming of maximum war production, necessary civilian production and contract cancellation," Mr. Reuther suggested the creation of a new Peace Production Board. He also advocated that the government continue to operate after the war certain of the plants it now owns—a proposal which, however desirable in the abstract, is hardly likely to induce in American capitalists that cooperative spirit which is essential for the realization of the perspectives opened by the Teheran agreement. Nor do we think Mr. Reuther's plumping for the thirty-hour week is particularly relevant at this time. The problem immediately after the war will be to provide jobs for everyone on the basis of a forty-hour week; let's not lose our footing by trying to cross too many bridges at once.



A chip off the old block.

Treason's Laureate

THE esoteric poet, Ezra Pound, found it possible to "simplify" his language to make himself useful to Mussolini and the Axis. In fact, his broadcasts in English, shortwaved by Radio Rome to this country in wartime, extolled the delights of racism, oppression, murder, and the "new order" in language plain enough for all to understand—and for all to recognize Ezra Pound for what he is, a traitor. So obvious was Pound's devotion to the enemy that the District of Columbia grand jury indicted him for treason last July.

The case of Ezra Pound raises no questions of disputed fact. Pound, an American citizen who ran away from his native country because he hated it and what it stood for, willingly cooperated *in wartime* with the enemy to help destroy the United States. No one disputes the fact that he broadcast over the official Italian radio after Pearl Harbor, or that he praised Mussolini and fascism and held democracy and America up to ridicule. It would seem that Pound himself has abundantly proved his treason beyond a reasonable doubt.

But the National Institute of Arts and Letters in New York City, which elected Pound to its honorary organization in 1938 (after he had clearly stated his fascist beliefs), now refuses to expel him. The Institute's president, Arthur Train, declares that Pound "must be presumed innocent until proven guilty."

Mr. Train's reasoning is fully as esoteric as Pound's verse. The war and the realities of war are covered up by pious phrases that pervert the very essence of democracy. The National Institute does the nation and itself a deep disservice by aiding the enemy.

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NEW YORK'S FATEFUL PRIMARIES

By THE EDITORS

WHAT happens in New York March 28—primary day—will receive careful scrutiny throughout the nation, as well as in many high offices and humble dwellings throughout the world. Because New York is a crucial state in the coming elections, and because the American Labor Party has a crucial role to play within that state, we wish, in this editorial, to discuss some of the ALP issues which have agitated our liberal contemporaries in the current campaign. We know that many readers of the New York *Post*, *PM*, the *New Republic*, and the *Nation* are in a quandary, inasmuch as these organs were fervent partisans of the Alex Rose-George S. Counts position. We believe, however, that many questions continue unresolved in the minds of these readers: we feel these questions to be of such transcendant importance that all honest Americans must discard any residue of prejudice and think clear—and fast.

First, the issue—the real issue: we believe it to be the election of candidates who hold uncompromising agreement on a program implementing the President's heroic efforts to win the war and the peace. We believe that to be so axiomatic that only political illiterates—or people of malevolent intentions—can disagree. Stripped of all extraneous considerations, the nub of the problem then is the creation of an overwhelming unity of Americans behind their Commander-in-Chief—a unity at home to bulwark, to guarantee the final destruction of our country's enemies and to construct a postwar world in the image of the perspectives envisaged at the Moscow-Teheran-Cairo conferences. This, then, is the issue at bed-rock.

Now, many thousands of New Yorkers will stand in the polling booths a few days hence and will register their decisions based upon the arguments of the contending sides in the ALP. What was the character of the opposing contentions?

First—and we firmly believe this expresses the will of the great majority of Americans—was the argument by the Committee for a United Labor Party, for maximum unity: i.e., the fullest coalition of *all* men who espouse the program of the President, and who advocate his re-election in 1944. Unity was the goal of Sidney Hillman's plan for the extension of the state ALP leadership to include the widest representation from trade union, progressive, and liberal circles.

Second—the basic campaign argument by the current state party leaders—men like Alex Rose, George S. Counts, and Dean Alfange—insisted that Hillman's plan would "insure Communist domination." They argued that the plan was "Communist," that it did not reflect the sentiment of the great majority of unionists and ALP members. They also argued—as a campaign document before us reveals—that their candidates are "militant and consistent supporters of President Roosevelt," and that they are "steadfast builders for victory and lasting peace." Actually, in the course of the campaign the latter claims were almost completely eclipsed by the first contention — the "Communist domination" argument.

Let us examine the latter first, since it was the pivot of the Rose-Alfange-Counts campaign. Are a relative handful of Communists the only champions of the Hillman plan, or is it the common program of the overwhelming majority of his associates in the CIO leadership and of the rank-and-file?

It is best, perhaps, to answer in the words of Philip Murray, head of the CIO, who said, in a congratulatory letter to Mr. Hillman, February 17: "I have followed closely your efforts in New York and other states to work out a basis for united action by labor unionists and other progressives, and have noted how carefully you have adhered to the purposes and policies outlined by the last CIO convention.

"Please accept my assurance of complete confidence in the policies your committee is pursuing and of wholehearted CIO support for your constructive endeavors."

THAT is certainly hard to misconstrue. It is four-square endorsement by the leader of five and a half million workers whose representatives, he points out, agreed upon these policies in full convention. Furthermore: Mr. Murray's endorsement was coupled the same day with a statement of similar support by 286 CIO leaders, including 117 local presidents, thirty-seven international representatives, twenty-one organizers, eighty-seven executive board members, and twenty-four board members, all of New York State. Again: it is a matter of record that the Hillman plan was fully discussed by both the 1943 New York State CIO convention in Buffalo and the New York State CIO executive board in Albany, representing over 800 CIO state affiliates with a membership of 1,175,000 unionists. Naturally, so large a section of New York's population would and should include Communists—an undeniable win-the-war aggregate—to participate in the election of win-the-war candidates.

And if this is not enough to blast the canard of "Communist control," the record also reveals Mr. Hillman's announcement that in the interests of unity, certain CIO leaders to whom the "right-wing" objected would withdraw their candidacy for office. And yet, Messrs. Rose, Counts, Alfange insisted on their thesis, ignoring obvious facts, brushing aside the record, rejecting every proffer for unity. So much for this, which was really not the issue at all, despite violent protestations by the "right wing" and those shady characters who leaped to their support—John L. Lewis, Martin Dies, Westbrook Pegler, Congressman Smith of Virginia, and others of their stripe, who made hay of the Red-baiting campaign.

The reality is this: the ALP voters want to register their desire to re-elect Roosevelt in order to guarantee the continuance of his military and political policies. How does the ALP Old Guard stand on this score? How does the Committee for a United Labor Party stand?

The answer to this question is, we believe, the determining factor in the ALP situation. Clarity here will guarantee proper action at the polls.

THE followers of the unity committee are engaged today in collecting a million signatures urging President Roosevelt to run for a fourth term. His re-election is the core of their practical work. And the "right-wingers?" A month ago, Jacob Potofsky, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers asked: "Where do Mr. Rose and the rest of the present leaders of the ALP stand? Where do they stand on a fourth term for Roosevelt?" Confronted with such direct probing—both by men like Mr. Potofsky and their own followers—the "right-wing" leaders (silent until then on this question) shifted their tactics. In the Bronx some forty "right-wing" candidates said they backed a fourth-term draft. But, many labor observers said, that pledge was suspect so long as the state leaders remained silent.

The state leaders finally had their say—in the columns of their paper—the New York *Post*—which so ardently espouses the Counts-Rose position that it is commonly termed their "house organ." The *Post* violently condemned the Committee for a United Labor Party for aggressively advocating the fourth-term draft of the President. The ALP, it argued, must act as a "balance of power" between the President and his Republican opponents, who include the worst defeatists in the country. One should hold off, they implied, one should wait in these crucial, fast-running days, and finally throw support to one or the other of two similar entities. We submit that this is a mighty poor way to support the President; it is high compliment to his—and the country's—worst enemies.

As we go to press the New York newspapers write that the "right wing" leadership has pledged support for President

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Roosevelt, Vice President Wallace and Robert F. Wagner, Senior Senator from New York. This belated "endorsement", comes a few days after the New York *Post's* "balance of power" editorial. Quite clearly popular furore against this position forced the fourth-term statement. But statements are not enough: the deed is the criterion. The Committee for a United Labor Party is collecting a million signatures urging FDR to accept a fourth-term nomination; the Counts-Rose-Dubinsky group, the press announces, began a statewide distribution of 200,000 brochures continuing their hysterical Red-baiting campaign against the unity advocates. Which action will be of greater help to win New York for Roosevelt?

THE reality is that labor and all patriots must work tirelessly to convince the President to run again; to create the conditions which will induce him to accept the candidacy and to win in November. Those conditions include unswerving, indefatigable united actions on behalf of the President's basic policies—domestic and international. Let us once again refer to the record in evaluating the "right-wing" contention, as their campaign document insists, that their candidates will "press for mutually advantageous postwar cooperation between the United States, Russia, China, and the other United Nations"—in brief Teheran. This is fundamental Roosevelt policy and it has won the undeniable support of the American people. What does the Counts-Rose-Dubinsky performance show? Once again we encounter a crass discrepancy between pledge and performance: it is no secret that Social-Democratic leaders, the most powerful coterie within the councils of the "right-wing" state leadership, harbor unremitting, irreconcilable hatred of the USSR. Mr. Dubinsky has never repudiated his endorsement of his colleague N. Chanin, who wrote that the last shot will be fired against the Soviet Union. And as recently as last week Mr. Dubinsky declared in an address before his union, "We have come from the school of Alter and Ehrlich and are proud of it." Alter and Ehrlich, for those who may have forgotten, were shot by the Soviet authorities for trafficking with the enemy.

Moreover, the *New Leader*, Social-Democratic organ, is distinguished by its violent anti-Teheran line, its perpetual Soviet-baiting, and more recently its espousal of Mikhailovich and its whitewash of the pro-fascist elements in Bolivia. All this, clearly, is anti-Teheran; what trust then can one place in the professions of loyalty to our Commander-in-Chief when his fundamental policies are subverted at every step?

We cannot close without reference to several additional phenomena which should provide thought for anybody contemplating the Rose-Dubinsky-Counts thesis. The latter contend that they are the guardians of democratic procedure, and have violently denounced men like Hillman, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, chairman of the New York County ALP, and other ALP leaders for "abandoning" this principle.

Again deeds belie words. Who can forget the disgraceful spectacle of steamroller tactics last year at the Brooklyn ALP convention when the "right-wing" chairman refused the majority demand for a ballot vote, and then literally attempted to steal the election by a dishonest count of hands, a procedure which was afterward repudiated by court decision? This deed was so shameful that even *PM*—a Dubinsky-biased publication—was obliged to protest. Nor did this sort of deed die in Brooklyn. It continues to this day as proof piles up revealing "right-wing" forgery of signatures and other fraudulent practices upstate in the collection of nominating petitions for the state committee.

THESE are facts every New York ALP voter should know, remembering the crucial position of his state in the '44 elections. The state government is in the hands of a Hoover Republican. Farley is moving heaven and earth to subvert the Democratic Party, to wean its following away from Roosevelt. Clearly the ALP has a historic responsibility: what it does will to a great degree determine whether Roosevelt will carry New York. And how does the Dubinsky cabal rise to this great crisis? By marching bravely forward behind a banner inscribed with a red herring.

The facts outlined here should give pause to anyone who really wants a world of peace and harmony. Such a world is incompatible with the men and practices of the Dubinsky setup. For these reasons we urge the election of the unity slate in the fateful primary, next Tuesday.

LABOR ABROAD by MARTIN T. BROWN

OUR ALLIES LOOK AT THE AFL

WHEN the AFL executive council announced that it would not participate in the London international labor conference next June it was subjected to the sternest criticism by British unions. The latest British union to take issue with the AFL is the conservative Iron and Steel Trades Confederation and its rebuke to the AFL's top leadership comes almost simultaneously with the Trades Union Congress' announcement that invitations to the London meeting have been sent to seventy-one trade union organizations in thirty-one countries. The ISTC's statement is especially valuable because its general secretary, John Brown, is one of the British delegates to the International Labor Office conference which opens in Philadelphia on April 20.

Dissenting from the AFL's reason for not participating in the London meeting because the Soviet trade unions, which will be present, are supposedly not free, but agents of the Soviet government, the ISTC's official organ *Man and Metal* says in its current issue: "We in this country fully recognize that they are not independent organizations in the sense that the unions are in Britain and America, but whether the bald definition that they are merely agents of the Soviet government is adequate to cover the precise relationship that exists between them and the state is a debatable point, or at best perhaps an oversimplification. If this means that only trade unions functioning within a capitalist society can be reckoned as bona fide organizations, then such a theory can obviously find little acceptance amongst British trade unionists, for the reason that it makes no allowance for the different place unions occupy in a socialist society compared with their position in a capitalist state. Further, to subscribe to this theory would mean that the political philosophy of the British trade union movement, whose declared aim is the establishment of a socialist state, must necessarily involve their extinction as free and independent organizations."

All this, *Man and Metal* continues, may be an academic matter at present, but "there is surely a bigger stake at issue, and this is the issue of the future and the chance that we are to have of making anything out of the postwar world. It is recognized that there is scant hope for our future security and peace unless Russia, America, and ourselves discard some of our preconceived ideas and make an effort to understand each other. We may not like some of Russia's methods, and they on the other hand can say the same of us. But it is the hope of all forward-minded people that under the impact of our common sacrifices in the struggle against the filth of fascism, the remaining barriers of misunderstanding will be finally broken down. The chief aim now of the Nazis is to re-erect them, and the whole of their propaganda ma-

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chine at the moment is directed mainly to this end. It is their only hope of survival. Those who help them in this, however unintentionally, by regarding something in Russia as still untouchable, are doing the future hopes of the Allied cause a disservice."

THE bullheadedness of AFL leaders met its sharpest challenge at the emergency session in Montevideo of the executive council of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL). For a long time AFL leaders, with the cooperation of such minor government officials as John Herling, former secretary to Norman Thomas and now head of the labor division of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, have been trying to split the CTAL and have intrigued against its leader, Vicente Lombardo Toledano. They have tried to build up Bernardo Ibanez, secretary of the Chilean Confederation of Labor (CTCh), a CTAL affiliate, as a rival leader to Toledano. Ibanez has been brought to the United States at every opportunity and wined and dined. It seems to have gone to his head. To say that Ibanez doesn't even begin to compare with a man of the calibre of Toledano is to put it mildly.

These events take place at a time when even the most conservative Latin American and US government leaders are recognizing the great contribution of the 4,500,000 CTAL members in the fight to halt the spread of Argentine-based fascism. Only a few days ago President Getulio Vargas of Brazil, whose government suppressed the labor movement in that country in 1935, invited Lombardo Toledano to stop off in Rio de Janiero for discussions on how his government can aid the CTAL's drive against fascism. This move, which presages the re-establishment of a free trade union movement in Brazil, is significant of the increasing democratization of Latin America and indicates the great influence and potentialities of Latin American organized labor and Toledano's distinguished leadership.

The CTAL president hit the nail on the head when he told the Montevideo meeting: "Our most urgent problem is the maintenance and strengthening of democracy in the face of the growing menace emanating from fascist Spain, operating through Argentina as an agent of Germany. The CTAL must devise concrete means, working with continental democrats, to smash the fascist threat to the Americas. Without the *Falange Espanol*, the present Argentine regime could not exist and could not become a focal point for disturbances in other countries, making possible the coup in Bolivia and similar adventures in other countries."

This call for the cooperation of all democrats in the hemisphere has been made before by the CTAL. But in recent months

it has become more vital. Argentine-based coups have taken place in Bolivia and Paraguay. Others have been attempted in Colombia and Peru, and to a lesser extent in Uruguay.

Chile feels the fifth-clumn threat to her independence. In Mexico and other parts of Central America the Sinarquistas continue to threaten. How have AFL leaders reacted? Have they recognized the need for the closest ties on the part of all anti-fascists in the hemisphere opposing the growing fifth column threat to the Americas? Hardly. The intrigue against the CTAL and its leader has been expanded.

ON HIS latest trip to the United States, in January, Ibanez brought along what he said were statements from Bolivian labor leaders asking US labor to press for recognition of the military junta there. These he presented to the AFL and CIO. It turned out, however, that no such request had been made. Chilean labor and the Socialist party of Chile, of which Ibanez is a member, were quick to dissociate themselves from his position.

Then Ibanez departed for Miami to address the AFL's executive council meeting. It was a nice speech as speeches go. But Ibanez, knowing the hatred of AFL leaders for Toledano and the CTAL and trying to strengthen his own relations with them, neglected to mention either the CTAL or Toledano. When he finally reached Mexico City on his return to Chile, however, he told a different story. Interviewed by *El Popular*, the Mexican labor newspaper, Ibanez said that while in the US he continually emphasized the CTAL and Lombardo Toledano. And, he said, he did it at the AFL council meeting, too. Yes, he said, the CTAL was the great Latin American labor organization, united behind Toledano. Nothing could split it.

During Ibanez' visit to Mexico City the CTAL decided to send a special investigator to Bolivia to examine conditions there. Ibanez was surely going that way on his return to Chile. But Ibanez was not named CTAL investigator. Instead Guadencio Peraza, a leader of the Mexican teachers union, was designated. Paraza's report will be published shortly.

THE scene now moves to the Montevideo meeting. Ibanez was present as CTCh general secretary and CTAL vice-president. In the sharpest language Lombardo Toledano condemned Matthew Woll, AFL vice-president, as the instigator of attempts to "lure CTAL affiliates to the AFL," and named Ibanez as Woll's chief aid, according to Allied Labor News reports. Woll, it will be remembered, is the author of the AFL's attack on the London world labor conference and the spokesman for anti-Soviet leaders in the AFL. Ibanez readily admitted that the AFL had invited the CTCh to leave the CTAL and form a new Latin American labor federation. But, he said, "I refused and the CTCh is remaining firmly united with the CTAL." He went on to urge CTAL affiliates to avoid "provocative offers" and maintain their solidarity.

In his speech to the Montevideo meeting Lombardo Toledano praised the CIO's progressivism, adding: "The CTAL is proud of its alliance and genuine friendship with the CIO." He urged the AFL to abandon its present attitude in order to make possible the fullest Pan-American labor collaboration, "based on fraternity and equality."

This isn't the first time that the AFL has tried to take over Latin American labor. When it returned to the International Federation of Trade Unions, it proposed a joint division of the world labor movement by the AFL and the British Trades Union Congress into spheres of influence. The TUC was to "get" Europe in the proposed deal and the AFL would take over Latin America. And the AFL actually did try to take over Latin American labor. But its Pan-American Federation of Labor met a stillborn death. The AFL's sole influence in Latin America today is in Argentina and Puerto Rico.

In Argentina the fascist-controlled trade unions continue to enjoy the friendship of AFL leaders. Their newspaper often features an exchange of greetings with AFL President William Green. One such AFL greeting was sent to Argentina on July 7, 1943, more than a month after the fascist *coup d'etat* there, at a time when it was general knowledge that the free trade union movement in that country was dissolved. Recently the General Union of Workers of Uruguay charged the AFL with being linked with Argentine fascists who, using "independent" unions in Uruguay, attacked the CTAL meeting as "Communist."

That AFL leaders do not speak for the AFL rank-and-file in such matters is becoming increasingly clear. Unless the membership can force a change in official AFL attitudes, their organization will win not only the opposition and ill-will of world labor, but its hatred as well.

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CURRENT BOOKS

The Hopeless Mr. Flynn

AS WE GO MARCHING, *by John T. Flynn. Doubleday Doran.* $2.

HERBERT HOOVER is the chief anti-fascist leader in the United States, ably seconded by William Randolph Hearst; while President Roosevelt heads up all the forces driving our country down the same road that Mussolini and Hitler took Italy and Germany. That is the thesis of John T. Flynn, in a new book which has received respectful notice in most of the daily press as well as in supposedly intellectual circles. It is an extreme example of the new name for an old art, "semantics," which boasts that it can transform any word into its opposite, and turn any discussion into an intellectual boarding-house hash.

Mr. Flynn's real object is to "prove" that it is hopeless to try to defeat Hitler, since even military defeat over the Nazis will enthrone their system in the world even more securely than would Hitler's victory. The thesis is a homeopathic derivation from Hitler's latest speech, adapted for inoculating American "intellectuals."

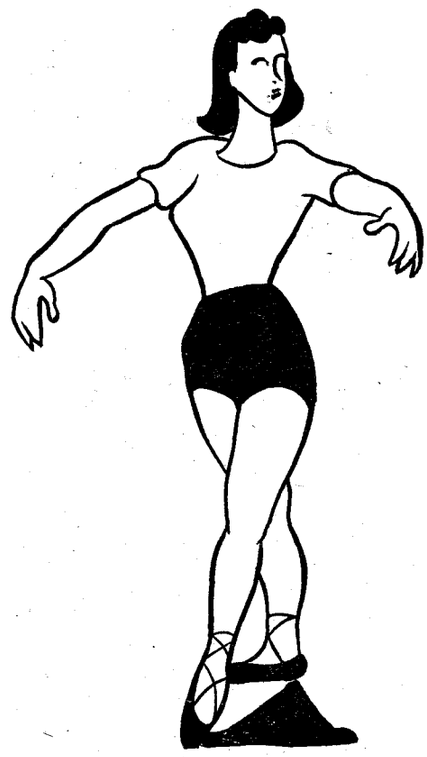
The "intellectual" framework of the argument, which the New York *Times* and others found "devastating" and breathlessly awe-inspiring, consists in a simple formula. All it requires is to trace a few obvious evidences that Italy and Germany were suffering from economic maladies common to the whole capitalist world, that everywhere these maladies have made necessary at least a trend toward state capitalism; on this basis, then, all that is required for Mr. Flynn's thesis is to define fascism as this trend to state capitalism, and presto! all differences between the democratic and the Axis worlds have been wiped out, and what's the use of fighting this war anyway?

There is nothing surprising in the spectacle of Mr. Flynn writing such a book. He has long been among the most able obscurantists in American public life. He has a flair for obfuscation which has been described, in the terms of his own *demi-monde* of the intellect, as "brilliant." But what is surprising, and gives rise to anxiety, is that in the third year of US participation in this greatest of all wars, our country is so ill-equipped for victory that it not only tolerates such books, which distill the Hitlerite poison, but our official guardians of culture take off their hats in awe-struck admiration before them. It is really a dangerous situation when our local specimens of the genus Goebbels can parade as "anti-fascists" and get by with it, with no one to cry out their fascist nakedness but the disreputable Communists.

The publishers describe Mr. Flynn's book as "a dynamic presentation of America's choice for the postwar world." It is nothing of the kind. It is an elaborately false presentation of arguments to abandon the aim of victory over the Axis, to accommodate ourselves to a postwar world that includes the Axis. The author specifically says that he does not offer any alternative program to that presented at Teheran by Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin—that his "only purpose is to sound a warning against the dark road upon which we have set our feet." Since victory will still leave the world with unsolved problems, says Flynn, it would be better to look for a solution without victory.

A thoroughly vicious book, a blow against our war effort and against national unity, an insult to human intelligence, a contribution to confusion and chaos as the necessary precondition for a triumphant fascist world order—that is the real significance of John T. Flynn's *As We Go Marching*.

EARL BROWDER.



On the Red Army

THE RUSSIAN ARMY, *by Walter Kerr. Knopf.* $3.
THE RED ARMY, *by Professor I. Minz. International Publishers.* $1.25.
THE GROWTH OF THE RED ARMY, *by D. Fedotoff White. Princeton.* $3.75.

THE great value of the book by Professor Minz, the well-known Soviet historian, is its attention to the special features of the Red Army, the popular, democratic and progressive features of a new type of military force born of the revolution of 1917, trained in the spirit of friendship and peace with other nations, which truly mirrors the socialist society from which it springs. In chapter eight, "The Red Army is the Army of the Workers' and Peasants' State"—the chapter which I consider most interesting—Professor Minz, after noting the Red Army's up-to-date technique, adds: "But there is one thing that distinguishes the Red Army . . . and that is its character." In the opening paragraph of the book Professor Minz also points out that the men of this democratic, people's army are fighting "to defend the honor and liberty of their own country and for the *culture*, the *democracy*, and the *independence* of all the nations of Europe and America." (Emphasis mine.)

It is from this point of view that Professor Minz in his first four chapters analyzes the Soviet strategy of the all-out, people's war against the fascist strategy of blitzkrieg. He shows how Soviet strategy led to victory in the battle for Moscow. He lays to rest the last remnants of the myth that the Hitler army went through the Soviet Union like a hot knife through butter during the first weeks of invasion. He explains how the policy of active and aggressive defense at the Soviet borders, in the great battle of Smolensk, and at the approaches to Moscow, together with the popular character of the guerrilla war, paved the way for the crucial victory in the battle for the Soviet capital. Another merit of Professor Minz' fine book (which, by the way, is poorly translated) is the fact that a number of chapters which deal with the Red Army's birth and its development in the years leading up to the Nazi invasion can serve Americans as a handy manual.

The core of the unpretentious and interesting book by Walter Kerr, former Moscow correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune*, at present serving in the American armed forces, is its three chapters on the battle for Moscow and the four on

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the battle for Stalingrad. No other American or British correspondent has given such a detailed analysis of the military aspects of both battles. These chapters stamp Kerr as one of the top-notch American war correspondents. At the same time it should be said that his handling of the military phase of the battle for Moscow would have been even better had he not tended to separate that pivotal battle from other major developments on the Soviet front in the winter of 1941-42—the fighting in Rostov, Tikhvin, the Crimea, etc., which was inter-connected with the main strategy of the Soviet High Command at Moscow.

In speaking of the battles at Moscow and Stalingrad, it is worthwhile noting as a tribute to the military art and a profound vindication of the Marxist thinking of the Soviet leaders, that they were able as a result of their proper appraisal of the strength and weaknesses of the enemy, of the relations between the contending forces, to analyze in advance the plan of the enemy. And for the same reason the leaders of the Red Army were able to work out their own plans and strategy at Moscow and Stalingrad so as to out-think, out-wit, and out-maneuver the enemy, and to strike at such a time and in such a manner as to deliver the most decisive and crushing blows under the existing conditions. It is no wonder that when Goebbels tried to blame "General Winter" for the defeats of the German army at Moscow and at Stalingrad, a Russian writer answered: "No, it is not General Winter, but General *People*." And another wrote, "It isn't only Russian tanks that are beating Hitler; it is Russian *brains*."

WHEN foreign correspondents held an informal interview at Stalingrad with General Chuikov of the 62nd Army four days after the 160-day battle, he told them that the main factor in the Red Army's victory was that everyone *understood* that not only the fate of Stalingrad, but of all progressive humanity depended on the outcome. And the thirty-eight-year-old General Rodimtsev of the famous Guards Division, composed mainly of members of the Communist Party and Komsomols, in answer to a question from one of the foreign correspondents, said that while the Red Army at Stalingrad was fighting to defend Russia, it was also fighting for the democratic world. And General Malinin, Chief of Staff of General Rokossovsky's army, in discussing the great offensive in the battle of Stalingrad, which opened in the middle of November, emphasized that "everyone understood the great aim of the offensive and worked perfectly."

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Red Army, immediately following the victory at Stalingrad, Stalin spoke of the routine tactics of the Nazis, and the fact that their greatest weakness arose when the situation became complicated and ran at variance with one or another aspect of the military regulations. Those who have followed the developments on the Soviet-German front throughout the entire war and especially the developments in the recent months, cannot help but note that it is precisely in the complicated, intricate, dynamic, and ever changing situations at the front and in the developments of the battles that the Red Army men are displaying that "daring, initiative, and intelligence" which is so characteristic of the Soviet people.

PROFESSOR MINZ shows how true it is that in the Red Army "every corporal carries a Marshal's baton in his knapsack." He describes the democratic training of officers, the rapid promotion of those with military talent, the respect of the rank and file for their officers, as well as the friendly spirit between officers and privates which strengthens the conscious discipline. He describes the Red Army as a school, with a wide network of clubs and other educational and cultural institutions. He shows that the time spent "in the Red Army is time spent in acquiring knowledge and cultivating the mind." And further "the vast educational facilities of the Red Army have put their stamp on the commanders of the Red Army which distinguishes them as men of wide outlook and cultural tastes who closely follow the progress of military science as well as science and art in general."

One of the *leitmotifs* of Kerr's book is the statement that the strength of the Red Army lies not only in its manpower and munitions, but in what Kerr calls its fighting heart, its severe training and iron discipline and the all-out support of the civilian population. Furthermore, Kerr selects individual soldiers whom he knew personally, and describes them so intimately that the reader gets a picture of the humanness of the Red Army, of the personalities of its soldiers and officers. However, Kerr's book is in some respects weak because of its lack of appreciation of the democracy of Soviet society and its false approach to the role of the Communists in the army.

While Kerr's book in the main is a constructive and especially popular contribution for American readers, such positive comment cannot be made of D. Fedotoff White's ponderous tome, *The Growth of the Red Army*, which is supposed to be a sociological interpretation. Although it is true that Mr. White is obliged to speak of the Red Army's great achievements and even calls the concluding chapter "Toward the Greatest Army in the World," a careful reading of the book indicates that the positive statements are made in spite of the author's inveterate and deep-going anti-Soviet and anti-Communist prejudices which fundamentally color the entire book. Perhaps this is to be explained by the fact that Mr. White was a Czarist naval at-

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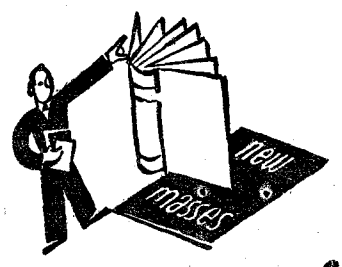

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tache, and an officer serving under Kolchak.

The theme of *The Growth of the Red Army* is "the conflicts and conflict interests, the tensions and strains" between what he terms the four main groups of the army—the officers, the political personnel, the Communist organizations, and the rank and file soldiers. Not only does Mr. White distort the early history of the Red Army, but he gives an entirely false picture of its development in the years prior to the Nazi invasion. He does not understand that the essence of the Soviet Constitution, adopted in 1936, was the fact that it registered the triumph of socialism, the absence of hostile and exploiting classes, and that the workers, farmers, and intellectuals were living and working in friendly collaboration. He doesn't understand that the *community of interests* between the workers, farmers, and intellectuals was the *basis* of the moral and political unity of the Soviet people and the amity of the Soviet family of nations. And furthermore, that this essential character of Soviet society was truly mirrored by the Red Army and vindicated in its epic victories. Yet Mr. White has the cheek to say that he can make no final judgment about the Red Army because of the dearth of documentary material. Nor is he sure whether the purge of the fifth column in the middle thirties was beneficial, because on this question, too, Mr. White wishes to wait, as he says, for more evidence! Apparently the evidence of the greatest military battles in history that have taken place on the Soviet front is not sufficient for this scholar who is described on the book's jacket as having an "enviable reputation for fairness among both Reds and Whites!"

WALTER SEATON.

Brownsville Stories

THE COMMON THREAD, *by Michael Seide. Harcourt, Brace.* $2.00.

THE rich vein of literary material to be found in the geographical regions of America was discovered and began to be ably exploited in the mid-nineteenth century, but the equally rich psychological regions of the various minorities had to wait for the twentieth. One of the most recent authors in this field is Michael Seide, whose book of short stories, *The Common Thread*, explores the pre-war lives of a number of Jews without money in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn.

These stories are curious—they are extremely sensitive to some of the feelings of the characters and influences upon them and at the same time utterly oblivious to a great many other considerations. Mr. Seide sympathetically and movingly describes the reactions of the old mother and the more Americanized brother and sister when a rather worthless old uncle arrives to live with them. He credibly presents the homely girl who repulses all friendliness because

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she thinks people are trying to be kind, the triumphant pride of a kid with his first new suit in six years, the weary pilgrimage of a mother and son looking for a cheaper place to live. The poverty-cramped personal lives of all his characters are well realized, but what is missing is any character who can see further than his job and his family or his girl. None of the jobs seem to entail any union protection or activity; no community organization impinges on any family; no friend or neighbor offers a wider horizon. And it strikes this reviewer as very odd that any group of people should be so completely isolated from one of the larger currents of American life, particularly in a working class neighborhood.

In the matter of dialogue, too, Mr. Seide appears to ignore many of the cadences of Brooklynese, although this may be caused by a young writer's bending over backward to avoid the Nize-Baby school.

If Mr. Seide can learn to apply his obviously great understanding and sensitivity to characters who are not licked from the start, we shall probably hear, and gladly, a good deal more of him. If he cannot, he is more thoroughly defeated and sterile than they. SALLY ALFORD.

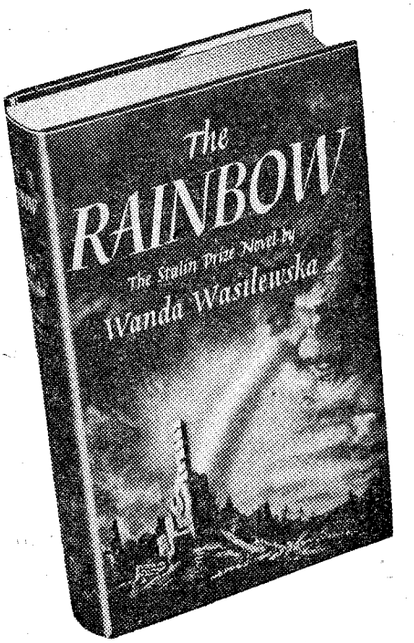
Dissecting an Alcoholic

THE LOST WEEKEND, *by Charles Jackson. Farrar & Rinehart.* $2.50.

DON BIRNAM, it seems, has already become a byword among the knowing, and *The Lost Weekend* is the novel many never expected to read, the novel that would give earnest, exclusive attention to the chronic alcoholic. Capacity drinking, as a staple of the hard-boiled novel, of course, has about as much kick now as a highball in a Village bar. But there is nothing hard-boiled about this novel, and drinking here is the essence, not a phase, of character—alcohol the screen, you might say, through which character is filtered. Perhaps it was time that the clinically accurate "outer" picture of the alcoholic was combined with some of the inner findings. This seems to be about what Charles Jackson has done in this novel.

Mr. Jackson's skill in his account of a drunkard's psycho-physical reactions during a five-day stretch of drinking consists first, in balancing Don Birnam's external momentary realities and interior monologues; second, in creating tension through the cyclical course of each day's dissipation—from the first revivifying swallow to the horrible moments of near-collapse. Certainly the dramatic pattern of the novel is to be found in the curve of Birnam's morale, plotted graphically, day by day, a chart of erratic zigzags, presided over by the bottle.

The test of Mr. Jackson's expertness seems to me to be the fact that, for corroboration of this story, you begin to think



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Wanda Wasilewska is now a war correspondent with the Red Army, and is also the leader of the Union of Polish Patriots organized in the U.S.S.R. Over 500,000 copies of *The Rainbow*, her fourth novel, have been sold in Russia. Price, $2.50

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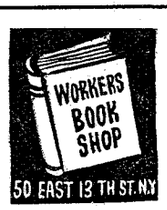

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about your most alcoholic friends, and not the "case history" stuff that would provide the readiest verification. In other words, while the material is clinically sound, the idiom is always that of fiction. But limitations of interest are to be found in the author's extreme care to eliminate everything from the novel but his knowledge of Don Birnam's consciousness—the fusion of the outer with the inner world. Some writers do well in such a restricted theater. Mr. Jackson may be one of them. But there is something meager and inhibiting in the dictum of Don Birnam if read strictly: *Don't write about anything you don't know anything about.* Drinking, in my opinion, is a subject that warrants a writer's allowance to himself of greater latitude. The most prized advantage from the application of this maxim, at this point, seems a defensive one, that each reader—or each drinker—can make what he likes of Don Birnam's experience.

For old-timers *The Lost Weekend* will be like a memory of all the things they wanted to forget during their hangovers. For others it will be a thrilling peep behind drawn curtains. But it isn't a great study of character—because no man can be interesting for long because he can drink steadily for five days in a row. If this is the first chapter in a full "life," all the evidence is not yet in. ALAN BENOIT.

Brief Review

SEED OF THE PURITAN, *by Elizabeth Dewing Kaup. Dial. $2.75.*

AT THE end of Word War I, Josiah Madden, a returning hero, decided he'd like to get into politics. After some success in his home town in Massachusetts, he married a gal the town considered no better than she should be, and so found it advisable to move to New York. In spite of having been a Republican in Massachusetts, he became a Tammany regular in New York, and, what with being strong, silent and smart, eventually got to be the Boss, though not without having to give up his only love, Paris Enderby, a glamor-girl he fascinated. His reign came to an end because nobody had told him there was a war on and his colleagues began to take principled, as opposed to "political," positions on the war. So Josiah went back to the shoe factory where he had worked as a child.

The characters of this novel are about as lifelike as those of Elizabethan "types": the old-school political boss, the glamor girl, the wardheeler, the comfortable wife. We never do learn what makes Joey run, nor do we find out really what professional politicians do most of the time when they aren't in one of those back rooms. As a study, however, of the workings of a big, powerful, and successful political machine, it is a detached and able piece of work.

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THE EVERGOOD SHOW

By Moses Soyer

In 1941 when Philip Evergood fell seriously ill, he painted a portrait of himself in which he tried to express the physical suffering and weakness caused by the illness and the spiritual depression that accompanied it. He called this picture "Through the Fog." In 1942 he recovered and painted another self-portrait, this time placing himself in the sunlit out-of-doors of his garden, grafting a branch from a neighbor's apple tree to one of his own that had never blossomed. With this picture the artist celebrated his return to life, to his family, to hope. He called it "Out of the Fog."

All the pictures on exhibition with few exceptions have been painted since he regained his health. They impress one by their clarity and simplicity, by the directness with which the artist conveys his message and by the universal meaning of his symbolism. Indeed, the exhibition as a whole could very aply have been entitled "Out of the Fog."

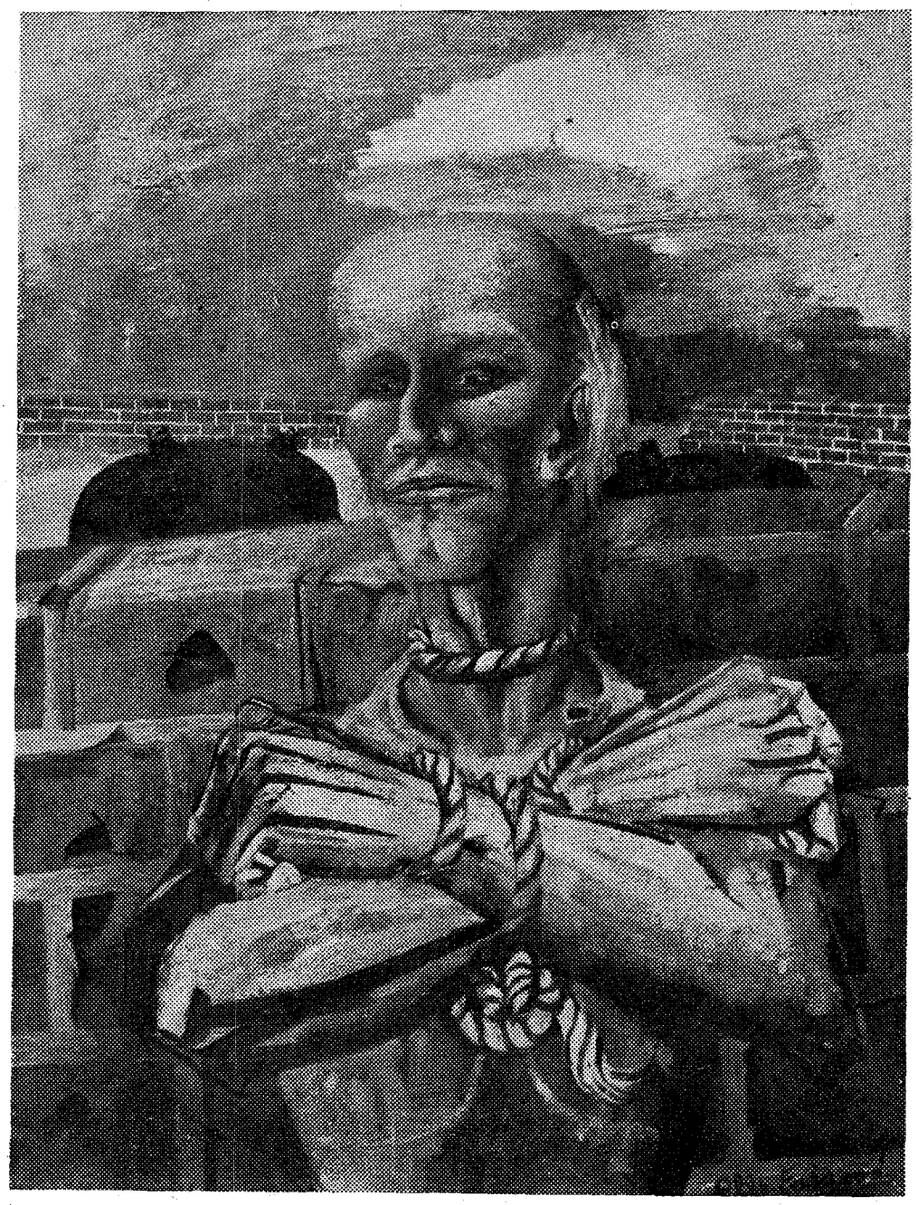
It is an impressive exhibition, full of movement, noise, clashing color, turmoil. It is definitely not of the "School of Paris" variety. By this I do not mean that Evergood is not concerned with the esthetic "niceties" of the craft of painting. Quite the contrary. He has developed through the years a genuinely personal style, and I know of no one who lays paint on canvas more beautifully or who has a higher regard for line, quality, and texture than has Evergood. What I want to say is that the artist is concerned at least as much with the message he wishes to convey as he is with the manner in which he says it.

Evergood proclaims loudly, with a great deal of emphasis: "Sure, I am a social painter! I am a painter of life, its fullness, tragedies, joys. I paint suffering because I crave happiness. I paint death because I want to see things grow."

As one studies the contemporary war work of the American artists, one cannot help but wonder whether an unostentatious picture of a soldier and his girl-friend making love in moonlight on a park bench (David Burliuk), or a weeping sweetheart waving farewell to her soldier in the Penn Station (Raphael Soyer), or a group of half-frozen infantry men, huddled around a campfire (Louis Ribak), painted from life or personal experience does not bring the war home more directly and poignantly than do the lurid carnage pictures painted from newspaper accounts and photographs.

There are, however, a few artists who today are painting pictures of the war that in my opinion will live after the war. Foremost among them are William Gropper, who as a talented recorder of daily events is eminently fit for this type of work, and Philip Evergood.

Before I speak of Evergood as a war artist I would like to describe some pictures in the exhibition that are related to other phases of life: "Nude by the 'El' "—a gay nude lying on a red couch in a light, airy studio; a young artist hard at work sketching; another artist leaning against the window, through which one can see the elevated, painted on the same eye level with the nude; trains thundering by; workers busy on the tracks. This picture, together with "Fun on the Beach" (soldiers and women passing time gaily on the seashore), strikes a light-hearted note. They form a sort of oasis in Evergood's world of strife and struggle. "Suburban Landscape": a row of little houses, painted full-face exactly alike, built parallel with the highway along which trucks pass dully all day long. Overhead a white Breughelian sky. A sad, beautiful picture calling attention to a humdrum phase of life in suburban America. Let Phil himself explain "Twin Celebrities." "This is an imaginative, interpretative portrait of two artists, brothers, whose work I admire and whose friendship I cherish. In desiring to express their characteristic seriousness



"The Hero," by Philip Evergood.

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and humility, I painted them in a landscape composed of huge trees, rich green earth, and limitless sea."

Evergood's war pictures could roughly be divided into two categories: one dealing with the monstrous, unspeakable Nazis, destroyers of art, enslavers of peoples; the other with the heroic resisting spirit of humanity fighting for freedom. Horror often evokes hatred, and hatred—horror. In order to express his utter hatred for the Nazis, Evergood in "Golgotha," "They Passed This Way," "The Lone Survivor," and others, goes all out and does not spare us any of the horrors associated with modern warfare. "They Passed This Way," for instance, represents a strafed, doll-like child lying dead in a field, still clutching daisies in her hand. In one's revolt at the useless fascist killing, one is apt to overlook the fine qualities of this little painting.

The heroic aspect of the people's fight for freedom is perhaps best portrayed in "The Boy from Stalingrad." This one-legged young veteran does not inspire pity as, armed with an old rifle, he goes forth to meet the Nazis. A dauntless hero, he is already legendary. Poems are being written about him.

"He Will Come Back When the World is Free" is a tenderly painted picture of a young mother with two children. The mother is symbolic of the woman left behind who, while awaiting the return of her loved one, carries on with hope, tenacity and quiet stoicism.

"He Will Come Back When the World Is Free." Philip Evergood works valiantly with passion and talent that this day may come soon.

Films: USSR and USA

"HEROES ARE MADE," the latest Soviet film at the Stanley, follows closely in the tradition of *Chapayev* and *Shors,* the two classics about the civil war in Russia. Based on the novel *How the Steel Was Tempered,* its protagonist, Pavel Korchagin, is moulded in the image of the author, Nicolai Ostrovsky, who was a young partisan at fifteen, a commissar at seventeen, and who died at the age of thirty-three in 1936, honored and celebrated as one of the enduring heroes of the Soviet Union.

The film explains why. Its action is centered in and about Shepetovka, an important railroad junction in the Ukraine. The station was the battleground for the contending forces, and young Pavel came of political age in the swirling events that swept the town.

Heroes Are Made is the record of the making of a Soviet citizen, in the full historic meaning of the word. As a symbol of all the militant youngsters who caught the significance of 1918, the young seventeen-year-old Soviet actor, V. Perist-Petrenko, is both believable and authentic. The objective world of his adolesence was not conceived with the usual preoccupations of youth. Instead, his ears were filled with the speeches of the Bolsheviks offering a new world, his sight with columns of German troops, White Russians, and partisan bands engaged in running battles; his adventures consisted of helping Red leaders escape, of hiding from the German guards; his social idols were not baseball players or movie stars but the partisan commander, sweaty and thirsty, pausing for a moment while on the march to ask information of the village youngsters.

Young Pavel, who gets a job in the railroad yards, receives his first taste of political action when he joins in a strike against the Germans, who have looted the Ukraine of cattle, wheat, machinery. Later he is thrown into jail, and he learns more of the credo and strength that lie behind the movement for freedom. He discovers, through some of the older prisoners condemned to be shot, that they fear death only because they feel they have not sold their lives dearly enough. Death is necessary only if it furthers the prospects of the living, in which case one has no choice. However, it is necessary *to fight* as long as possible to prolong life. This philosophy is the central truth of Pavel's time, and by his actions, he indicates that he has learned it well. In fact, once equipped with this attitude he is unconquerable.

Masters of the dramatic line, the compelling climactic act, the Soviet film producers have filled *Heroes Are Made* with memorable incident after incident. Once again the irresistible atmosphere of realism which characterizes the better Soviet film, makes of this picture a worthy member of that long gallery of cinema musts. Notable also, is the fine humor that runs throughout. One shot in particular sticks in my mind. As hogs are being driven to the railroad station by Wilhelm's thieves, the director imposes a lap dissolve of a German soldier's face, which with its pendulous jowls and drooling chops, shows him to be a first cousin to the swine.

Many critics, while admitting the powerful dramatic force and historical veracity of the picture, carped about the technique of the closeup, the greyness of the film, etc. There is quite a bit of war going on in the Soviet Union, and I wouldn't be surprised if that had had some effect on the quality of film available to the studios. As to the closeup, no one will deny that the dramatic intensity of the picture's many scenes is due in part to the solid establishment of character. The closeup, showing the enthusiasm of the boy for the sentiment of the revolutionary speakers, his dawning appreciation of the issues of battle, his worship of the Bolshevik leaders, leaves no doubt as to the kind of person he is growing into. If the objecting commentators can think of better film techniques for the illustration of character, they had better publicize their knowledge. It will revolutionize movie-making. JOSEPH FOSTER.

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By THIS time everybody knows that when you say *Up in Arms* you mean Danny Kaye. Happily for the film which provides his movie debut he is given plenty of elbow room, for when he is absent what fills the screen makes for a sad case indeed. Kaye romps and capers to a degree that establishes him as a most accomplished zaney. This comes as no surprise to NEW MASSES readers, who knew him several years ago as the star of the NEW MASSES' Keyhole Revue. Even then, depending upon a decor constructed of abandoned kitchen equipment, Kaye was proving his right to sit at the head of the class.

In this film he is a confirmed hypochondriac called up for induction into the Army. The hypochondriac gag provides him with an opportunity for some of his more exaggerated horseplay and also sets the stage for his robust, double-talking, "Melody in 4F."

Up in Arms is neither a good film nor a funny one. Much of it is in bad taste. In one scene, for instance, aboard a troop transport, a number of girls (technically nurses) sun themselves in gay scanties, languidly tossing striped and colored balls at each other. Lacking only were the beach umbrella and the page boy in quest of Philip Morris. In another scene Danny Kaye, all by himself, with the aid of a little double talk, captures a large detail of Japanese. One's general attitude with regard to such nonsense, I suppose, should be to treat it lightly, since it is only meant to be a cream puff in technicolor. But it seems to me that this kind of *reductio ad absurdum* of the Pacific war is the kind of stuff that used to give Hollywood its reputation for the low and the ludicrous.

With Danny Kaye in the company, the Goldwyn office had an excellent opportunity to produce a solid satire on some of the aspects of Army life, and on heavy-handed musicals that take themselves seriously. In fact the film actually does take on an air of spoofery when Kaye sings such numbers as "Maniac Depressive Films Present," "Melody in 4F," and others. But it is specious, since the mood belongs to the singer and not to the producers. The thirty-six Goldwyn girls arranged in various tableaux are supposed to knock you out of your seat by the novelty of the ensemble arrangements, but you have seen it all before, and no movie presenting such business with a straight face can be regarded as light-hearted.

Up in Arms is brightened considerably by the talents of Dinah Shore, whose singing occupies your attention while Danny Kaye is in his dressing room giving his hard-working vocal chords a rest. I wouldn't be surprised if her "Tess' Torch Song" replaced "Shoo, Shoo, Baby" at a Paramount matinee shortly. Dana Andrews, who played the lead in *The Purple Heart*, experiences a startling change of pace as the foil of the clowning Kaye.

J. F.

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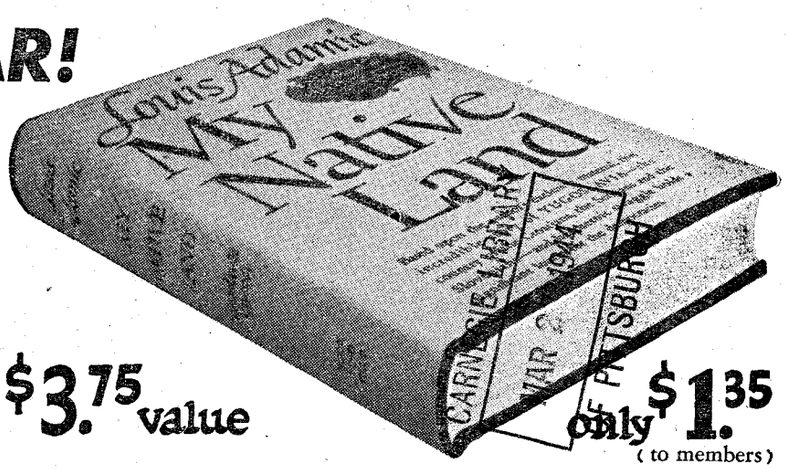

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